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THEOGNIS RESTITUTUS.

THE

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE POET

THEOGNIS

DEDUCED FROM AN ANALYSIS OF HIS EXISTING FRAGMENTS.

A HUNDRED OF THESE FRAGMENTS TRANSLATED OR PARAPHRASED IN ENGLISH METRE ARE ARRANGED IN THEIR PROPER BIOGRAPHICAL ORDER WITH AN ACCOMPANYING COMMENTARY.—WITH A PREFACE IN WHICH THE SUGGESTION OF MR. CLINTON, AS TO THE TRUE DATE OF THE POETS BIRTH (VIZ. IN OLYMP. 59) IS CONFIRMED BY INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

MALTA
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"Pirates may make
cheap Pennyworths of their Pillage."

Hand-Book of Proverbs, page 474,

BY

HENRY G. BOHN.

ERRATA.

Page 4, 2nd line from bottom, *for* as, *read* an.
9, 6th do. do. *for* and Poverty, *read* to Poverty.
10, 7th line, *for* πολιορκία, *read* πολιορκίᾳ.
. . 14th line from bottom, *for* Muller, *read* Müller.
. . 2nd do. do. *for* opposite, *read* apposite.
11, 8th line, *for* Mu]]er, *read* Müller.
. . 14th do. do.
. . 18th do. do.
. . 26th do. do.
14, 11th line, *for* difference, *read* deference.
15, 16th line, *for* extensviely, *read* extensively.
16, 9th line from bottom, *after* necessary *dele* (,)
18, 15th line, *for* Megera, *read* Megara.
. . 19th line *for* invasian, *read* invasion.
21, 2nd line from bottom, *after* assumed *dele* (,)
23, 26th line, *for* quite, *read* quiet. Ib. *dele* and.
24, 8th line, *for* quarel, *read* quarrel.
28, 3rd line, *dele* their.
30, 13th line of note, *for* assasinate, *read* assassinate.
. . 20th do. *for* uparalleld, *read* unparallel'd.
. . 4th from bottom of do. *for* Solons, *read* Solon's.
31, 1st line, *for* envious, *read* curious.
. . 6th line from bottom, *for* setllement, *read* settlement.
. . 4th do. do. *for* opposite, *read* apposite.
. . 3rd do. do. *for* nnd, *read* and.
32, 15th line, *for* Pround, *read* Proud.
34, 7th line, *for* theirs, *read* their's, (*twice.*)
35, 14th line, *for* lollowing, *read* following.
. . 15th line, *for* Fnneral, *read* Funeral.
36, 1st line, *for* thongh, *read* though.
. . 8th line, *for* arbitary, *read* arbitrary.
38, 8th line from bottom, *for* these, *read* those.
39, 5th do. do. *for* choise, *read* choice.
40, 2nd line, *for* eritical, *read* critical.
. . 2nd line from bottom, *for* Fill, *read* Till.
41, 8th line, *for* For, *read* For a.
46, 1st line, *for* be, *read* been.
. . 2nd line, *for* buisness, *read* business.
47, 4th line from bottom, *for* unprepard, *read* unprepar'd
48, 6th do. do. *for* Initation, *read* Initiation.
50, 3rd line, *for* lenght, *read* length.
51, 5th line from bottom, *for* bitten, *read* bitter.
52, 2nd line, *for* born, *read* borne.
61, 6th line from bottom, *for* mantained, *read* maintained.
65, 6th line, *for* cherleess, *read* cheerless.
66, 4th line from bottom, *for* exibited, *read* exhibited.
74, 15th line, *for* unostentations, *read* unostentatious.
86, 4th line from bottom, *for* wishes, *read* wish.
105, 7th do. do. *for* judgment, *read* judgement.
108, 3rd line, *for* hand, *read* hard.
112, marginal note, *for* Mullers, *read* Müller's.
116, 6th line from bottom, *for* anabled, *read* enabled.

THEOGNIS.

Of the whole race of Poets who filled the long period which intervened between the time of the ancient narrative or Epic Bards, and the Poets of the Attic Drama, scarcely any remnants have been preserved to us; the few existing fragments of Archilochus, Alcæus and Sappho excite the regret of the Scholar by the beauty of the versification and language; but the loss of their entire works is also to be regretted on another account:—They, and the Class to which they belong, were decidedly and peculiarly the Poets of Active Life, differing in this respect from their Epic predecessors and from the Dramatic Tribe which succeeded them.—Their lives were not passed in wandering from town to town with occasional entertainment at the public charge, as tradition (applying to the individual, what was characteristic of a class) has recorded of Homer; nor were they menial minstrels, such as Homer himself has described; established, like Phemius or Demodocus, in the mansion of a petty Sovereign; neither were they occupied like the Dramatists, in contests for a theatrical Prize, engaged in schooling their Actors and uniting in their vocation the several offices of Manager, Ballet-master and Director of the Band.

With the Poets above mentioned, verse was the vehicle of their feelings and passions, excited as they were by the tumult of an agitated existence; Feuds, Factions, Expatriation to distant Colonies. sudden usurpations, revolution and exile were the elements by which they were surrounded, and of whose influence they partook; and they themselves appear sometimes, to have been among the leading Spirits of these tempests; the faculty of composing animated and popular poetry; giving to the person who applied it to party purposes, a power of producing impressions, less forcible indeed in the first instance, but more durable and diffusive than the effect of oratory.

Hence their poetry, turning wholly upon the feelings and passions produced by the events and characters with which they were surrounded, contained, what we should call, the materials for an *Autobiography;* and we see

in fact, that the Ancients, who were in possession of their writings, were enabled to form a clear idea of the *Life and Times* of Alcæus and Archilochus. The loss therefore of their works, is not only to be lamented by the admirers of ancient Poetry, but must be regretted, as depriving us of a View of civil and political society at a period antecedent to what is considered as the full development of Grecian civilization; though it might be considered, perhaps more justly, in a point of view not less interesting; as an equally perfect form of the same civilization, though in some respects differently characterized; being modified in the countries of Asia Minor and the Islands (to which the most eminent of this class of poets belong) by the circumstances of a more fertile and extended Territory, by more advantageous situations for commercial enterprize, and above all, by their Colonial Origin, which removing them from the influence of a locality, connected with ancient institutions, left them free to proceed to development and decay, by a more rapid progress, than the old hidebound states, from which they had been severed.—But, it is useless to speculate upon the value of the treasures which we have lost; or to diminish by comparison, the worth of the single remnant of this School, which has been preserved to us.

Theognis belongs undoubtedly to the Class of Poets above described; a native of Megara in Greece, He was nearly the last in point of time, and far from being the first in point of poetical merit; yet there is an air of truth and reality in his verses, accompanied by a general terseness of expression, which gains upon the attention of the reader; and which is apt to engage him to frequent reperusals and reflections. The style is in fact, what according to modern notions of poetic language, would be characterized as prosaic; consisting as it does, of the expressions and phrases of ordinary speech, never in any respect vulgar, but wholly without ornament or the affectation of ornament; it has no pretension to beauty, nor attempts at the sublime; it is the language of actual feeling arising out of real circumstances; and its title to the name of poetry must perhaps be rested on the correctness of its metre; nevertheless, this very simplicity gives to it in some respects a greater interest, as an authentic, unadorned document, illustrative of the state of social existence and domestic politics in Greece, at a period anterior to the Persian war. It should seem therefore, that as useful and agreeable addition to our knowledge of antiquity, might be obtained; if the confused mass of fragments,

which constitute the present text, could be reduced to a rational order, exhibiting in a regular series, the various events of the Poet's life, which are indicated by them, and the successive changes of circumstance and situation under which they were composed.

A task of a similar description, and of nearly equal difficulty, was accomplished several years ago, by the ingenious Mr. Stevenson of Norwich. Being a great lover of antiquities, and particularly and more especially, a most passionate admirer and collector of painted glass; he had availed himself of the treaty of Amiens, to make a tour in the Netherlands; and succeeded in purchasing many fine windows, the spoils of the monasteries, which had passed into private hands; he then returned, having agreed with the vendor that the glass should be sent after him; and so it was; but on its arrival, Mr. S. was appalled by the discovery, that the lead, not having been specially included in the purchase, had been stript off; and that the treasure which he expected, was reduced to a chaos of painted glass, of all shapes, sizes and colours. He was not however discouraged, but finally by continued patience and attention, at the end of two or three years, succeeded in recomposing the whole.

The state in which the remains of Theognis have been transmitted to us, resembles that in which Mr. S— received his purchase of painted glass; but with this additional difficulty, that they are not the misarranged parts of any complete compositions; but detached pieces, the fragments of occasional poems, composed at very different times, and under very different circumstances.

Such is the confusion of the present text, that in the same page, the Poet is to be found speaking of himself as rich and poor, old and young, an exile and a citizen; and so on promiscuously, without the slightest appearance of order or coherence from the beginning to the end.—Out of this confusion, an attempt is made to construct a sort of Autobiography by arranging the fragments in the order of the incidents to which they refer; a task of no small difficulty; considering that the testimony of ancient Authors is contradictory upon two such important points as those of the Place and Time of his Birth. If however, renouncing all dependence upon these conflicting authorities, we recur to the evidence of the text itself, we find that the city to which he belonged wasfounded by Alcathous; and since all authorities are agreed, and his own testimony

proves, that the name of his native city was Megara, (this circumstance as Mr. Brunck has shewn, is decisive in favor of the more ancient Megara the Megara of Greece proper.) Again, the same Megara is described by the Poet as exposed to imminent danger from the expected invasion of the Persians: lastly, the only other Megara, the Megara in Sicily (to which it may be added that the last mentioned circumstance would not apply) is moreover positively excluded by his mention of Sicily, as one among the number of foreign Countries which He had visited.

A satisfactory conclusion with respect to the Time of his Birth, may in like manner be deduced from internal evidence, though by a process somewhat more circuitous. At the time when he was practically philosophising upon the subject of hard drinking, we must conclude him to have been a very young man; and this paroxysm of experimental conviviality cannot be supposed to have been of very long duration; but it appears, that during its continuance, verses illustrative of his theory and practice were addressed to two of his poetic and toping companions, Simonides and Onomacritus. Now the only time in which it is at all probable, that these two persons could have been associated as joint Compotators with Theognis, must have been that period of Hipparchus' reign, subsequent to the arrival of Simonides, and anterior to the exile of Onomacritus: now this first arrival of Simonides is fixed by Mr. Clinton (the highest authority on such questions) in the year 525 A. C. With respect to the age of Simonides at the time of his arrival at Athens, there is no difficulty, his birth being fixed, by the most undoubted testimony (that of his own verses) in the year 556. With respect to Theognis, the case is different; Chronologers are agreed in assigning to him the 59th Olympiad 544 A. C. but whether, as the date of his Birth, or the period at which he became famous and celebrated, is a point which their opposite and ambiguous testimony has left undetermined; but the internal evidence is wholly in favor of the conclusion which Mr. C— has suggested; namely, that "*Theognis might be supposed to have been born, rather than to have flourished in Olympiad* 59" upon this supposition, he must have been twelve years younger than Simonides, and their respective ages at the time of Simonides' arrival would have been 19 and 31; he might then at the age of three and twenty have illustrated his philosophic theory of inebriety, in verses addressed

Vide Frag. 6. 7. 8.

See Fasti Hellenici p. 35

to Simonides and Onomacritus, after which there would remain the latter half of Hipparchus' reign, six or seven years, in any one of which, the exile of Onomacritus might have taken place. The tone of his verses to Simonides in three different instances, shews them to have been addressed to a person older than himself, and is utterly irreconcileable with the supposition of his having been a man of fame and celebrity nineteen years before the time when he could have had an opportunity of forming that very free and familiar acquaintance, which seems, at one time, to have subsisted between them. This is particularly manifest in a fragment, which is not translated, but of which, the original will be found in the portion of his poetry lately discovered. He is apologizing for his debaucheries, in verses addressed to Simonides, and justifying them by an appeal to poetical Mythology!! Supposing the writer to have been in his senses, such verses could not possibly have been composed by a man of mature age, and addressed to a person many years younger, with whom he had only become lately acquainted.—On the other hand, if we suppose him to have been the younger man, and that his acquaintance with Simonides had taken place when he was at the age of 19 or 20; the whole becomes perfectly natural and probable. A young man of wealth and (as far as it appears) entirely his own master, careless at that time of money, but eager for knowledge, and passionately addicted to the joint arts of music and poetry, would hardly have failed to avail himself of the advantages for improvement and instruction, which were afforded him by the establishment of so celebrated a man of letters in his immediate vicinity; and Simonides who had been attracted and fixed at the court of Hipparchus by "great gifts and pensions," would not, it may be presumed, have avoided the society of a young poet of rank and wealth; who manifested a wish for instruction, and a willingness to pay for it. Upon this footing an intimacy might have been formed very rapidly; his literary instructor might very properly under these circumstances, have assumed the character of a Mentor; and his moral remonstrance might have been met with a bantering reply (for such it is) an argumentum ad hominem an appeal to his own authentic precedents and examples, attested by fable and poetry! "How could Simonides," A Mythologist and a Poet, venture to disapprove of the conduct of Jupiter?!" These then are evidently the bantering verses of a young man replying to the admonition of a Senior.

Again, the verses in which he represents Simonides, as presiding at a Convivial Meeting, and not knowing how to conduct himself, are suitable enough to the petulant vivacity of a young man, who with a sincere respect and regard for his Senior, cannot forbear to notice his defects in manner and behaviour. Criticisms of this kind, which if they proceeded from a person of more advanced age, would be felt as seriously offensive, are frequently received from a younger companion with perfect good humour; and for a very good reason—They do not imply Contempt. The same difference of age is marked equally, though in a very different manner, at a later period, when Theognis must have been seriously disgusted—when he declines Simonides' invitation; and anticipates that the lines in which he conveys, his refusal, will be communicated to his enemies; notwithstanding all this, and the irritation and agitation of his own mind, there is in this fragment an evident tone of forbearance and reserve, betokening the remains of habitual respect; such as he might be supposed to retain for his Senior, and the Instructor of his youth. From all these considerations, we should infer, that it is impossible to suppose the 59 Olympiad to have been the period of his Celebrity—such a supposition (even allowing him to have attained to Celebrity at the earliest age possible) would place him more in advance of Simonides in point of years, than, from what has been said above, it should seem that Simonides must have been with respect to him. We must therefore incline to that chronology which marks this Olympiad as the time of his Birth—upon this supposition, he would have been thirty years of age at the time of the murder of Hipparchus, which seems to have given occasion to some lines in which he discussed the question of tyrannicide (Fragt. XXIII) and to others in which he speaks slightingly of the solemnities of a royal funeral (Fragt. XXIV and XXV.)

Farg. 63.

These lines are such as no man living in exile would have ventured to write. The friends of the deceased Ruler (as appears from the magnificence with which the Funeral is celebrated) being evidently still in power. The Poet therefore at the time when they were composed, must have been a citizen of Megara; the Funeral moreover, must have taken place in some State immediately adjoining to that Town, at so short a distance, as to make his nonattendance, a marked act, which he thought it necessary to justify and explain.

The reform of Cleisthenes at Athens, and the revolution in Megara, of which the materials had been long in preparation, appear to have been events nearly contemporary, and probably had a reciprocal influence on each other. —Upon this supposition, it would have taken place in the 35th year of the Poet's age. Three years after, we find him an Exile, a witness of the devastation of the Lelantian plain, and cursing the Corinthians, by whose example and intrigues the confederate army under Cleomenes had been broken up, leaving the Thebans and Eubæans exposed to defeat and invasion.

We then find him at Thebes, living (as he says himself) as an Exile, and exposed to the mortifications incident to a life of Exile.—Thebes seems to have been the scene of those hopes of a triumphant restoration, which he and his brother emigrants at one time entertained; (see Fragt. LXXVIII) and all mention of it is accordingly omitted, in the verses composed long afterwards, when by the indulgence of the ruling party, he had been permitted to return. Thebes had been the *Coblentz* of the party; a place of which the name was not to be pronounced by a returned Emigrant. Some disagreements, some disappointments, which are discoverable by the glimmer of inference and allusion, (but of which as they are foreign to the question of chronology, it may be sufficient to say that they might have been comprized in a short space of time,) combined with the pressure of utter poverty had the effect of inducing the Poet to separate from his Companions, and to seek his fortune for himself. Sicily was the great mart for destitute men of talent, and to Sicily he repaired, being then, it may be supposed in his 40th or 41st year.—Then follows the period to which we may refer all those fragments in which he complains of poverty and degrading occupation, in which he vindicates himself against imputations of meanness and parsimony; and in which he exults in the gradual acquisition of property.

Nothing is more remarkable in a view of private life among the Greeks, than the rapid transition from Wealth and Poverty, and again from poverty to wealth; and Theognis was destined to exhibit an example of both; for he appears to have accumulated rapidly what, considering it probably, in a Megarian point of view, he regarded as a respectable amount of property; for wealth at Syracuse was proverbially tenfold the amount of what would have constituted wealth in any other Grecian State.

The only historical fact connected with his sojourn in Sicily is the Siege of Syracuse by Gelo, acting at that time as Lieutenant to Hippocrates (as related by Herodotus in his brief summary of the steps by which Gelo had risen to power. Book VII.) This siege was terminated by the joint intervention of the Corinthians and Corcyreans, under whose mediation a treaty was concluded. We learn from the testimony of Suidas, that Theognis composed a long poem (εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ) verses "addressed during the siege to the survivors of the Syracusan army" for the siege as Herodotus states, had been preceded by the entire overthrow of their army on the banks of the Elorus; and when we consider that the flight of their routed forces must have followed the same track which was afterwards traversed by the Athenians in their retreat from Syracuse, that Gelo, as the General of Cavalry must have been in pursuit of them, the defeat (as indeed we may infer from its being followed by the immediate siege of Syracuse itself) must have been a little short of extermination; and those of the army, who effecting their escape, formed afterwards the most efficient part of the garrison, might well have been addressed as τοὺς σωθέντας the Survivors.

Four verses are still to be found, which may be supposed to belong to this poem (Fragt. C) the description of the ἄχρηστοι being applied to the expelled Gamori as contrasted with the party who defended the city.

In the chronological table annexed by Professor Muller to his admirable work on the Dorians, the first year of the 72nd Olympiad A. C. 492 is assigned as an approximate date to the battle of Elorus; considering the events which must have intervened, the siege of Syracuse and the death of Hippocrates, followed by the usurpation of Gelo, who in the year 492 A. C. (see Fasti Hellenici p. 24) made himself master of Gela, this seems to be the latest date that can be assigned to it; but either this date or a year earlier might afford sufficient time for a man of talents and activity, (living in a wealthy and liberal community, earning as much as he could, and spending as little as possible) to acquire considerable wealth. Adventurers to India and Mexico (even without extraordinary economy, such as Theognis seems to have practised) have sometimes realized good fortunes in a shorter time, and to come to a nearer and more opposite instance, Gorgias and Hippias must have made money much faster and probably spent it more liberally than Theognis appears

to have done, at least if we may judge from his verses to Timagoras and Damocles. This difficulty, if indeed it be such, might have been eluded; for there is nothing but the date (which in contradiction to all moral probability would make Theognis an older man than Simonides) which should prevent us from assigning the verses, in which after his return to Megara, he alludes to the impending invasion of Persia, to a later period than the battle of Marathon; for it is most certain, that the alarms of invasion were not terminated by that battle: Corsini, as quoted by Professor Muller (for the writer has not been able to procure the work) assigns the poem noticed by Suidas, to the last year of the 73rd Olympiad, which would have allowed two additional Olympiads, during which Theognis might have been growing rich; and the deprecation of the approach of old age might not appear quite absurd, in verses composed two years afterwards, at the age of 61. In the chronological table of Professor Muller, Theognis is said to be still composing poetry in the 2nd year of the 74th Olympiad, the year immediately preceding the march of Xerxes. (Fragt. XCI. and XCVI.)

As the grounds upon which this determination is founded, are not stated, we are at a loss to guess whether Professor Muller refers to the verses now in existence, in which the apprehensions of a Persian invasion are expressed, or whether his extensive and acute researches have furnished him with other evidence in proof that Theognis was composing poetry at the time which he states. At this period, he would have been, according to the proposed date, 61 years of age; according to that which has been commonly received, 85; a time of life, at which no man who retained his faculties, would seriously deprecate as he does, the approach of old age!—If therefore, the verses now in existence, are those which Professor Muller had in view, we must suppose him (and the rather, as he has not noted in his tables, any time for the Poet's birth) to have rejected tacitly the earlier date for that event; being, as it is, inconsistent with the latest of his existing compositions. Any difficulty therefore which there might appear in supposing Theognis to have accumulated at Syracuse in the space of twelve years, what to a Megarian would have appeared considerable wealth, might have been eluded by adopting the determination of Corsini, and prolonging his residence in Sicily to the end of the 73rd or the 1st year of the 74th Olympiad.

But the writer of these pages would not consent to avail himself of this evasion or dissemble the strong conviction impressed on his mind, that the Corinthian negotiator, who in conjunction with the Corcyrean had acted as Mediator between Gelo and the besieged Syracusans, was also the Mediator between the Poet and his fellow citizens of Megara. It should seem, that having secured the good offices of his Corinthian friend (whose dexterity and powers of persuasion are alluded to in the enigmatic mention of Sisyphus the Corinthian) he removed to the Peloponnese, to await the result. It was at this time that he presented himself at Sparta, and had the good fortune to be well received; a circumstance which he probably considered as of some importance in giving him additional consideration in the eyes of his fellow-citizens; for it is observable, that in the accounts which remain to us of the most eminent persons of Greece, any mark of esteem or respect, which might have been shown them by the community of Sparta, is always recorded as an authoritative testimony in their favor.

(Fragt. CII.) To this residence in Lacedemon, we may assign those verses in which Theotimus is mentioned—the melancholy images which they exhibit are not apt to beset the fancy at a much earlier age. While we are ascending the hill of life, the acclivity before us, screens the future from our sight; but when we have reached the summit, and are preparing to descend, it bursts suddenly upon us; and remains before us as a fixed and constant prospect.* These lines therefore cannot, it should seem, with any probability be referred to a period anterior to his long residence in Sicily; but would be perfectly suitable to the period of life 54 or 55 at which he obtained his recall from banishment: an event of which at the time when they were written, he must have been in immediate expectation.—There are also other verses written in Lacedemon, alluding to the trust which he reposed in his friend; for it should seem that money must have been an ingredient among the other considerations under which his recall was effected.—The verses in which the apprehension of a Persian invasion is alluded to, have all the character of an Emigrant very lately returned; and must have been composed about the time of the battle of Marathon; but there seems no absolute necessity for

(Fragt. CIII.)

(Fragt. CV. and CVI.)

* Swift says writing to Lord Bolingbroke, "I was forty seven years old when I began to think of Death; and the reflections upon it now begin when I wake in the morning, and end when I am going to sleep."

supposing that they were composed before that event.—For this disappointment of Darius' expedition was followed by preparations infinitely more formidable and extensive; during which the whole Eastern World was agitated (as Herodotus describes) with musters and levies; which could not as before, be supposed to be directed against the Athenians or Eretrians alone; but were evidently made, in contemplation of the entire subjugation of Greece; there is therefore no absolute necessity for limiting the composition of these lines to a date anterior to the battle of Marathon. That they could not have been written long after, seems probable, from what was before observed; that they mark the character of an Emigrant very lately returned, and from the probability, that a negotiation so simple in its nature, as that upon which his return depended, was not likely to have remained long in suspense.

Most of the points here mentioned, will be found illustrated more at large in the running Commentary, which accompanies a series of translated Fragments, arranged in the order here proposed.—Such a work it was thought, might afford some amusement and information to the general reader, and to young persons not far advanced in classical studies; affording at the same time, a ground-work for the formation of a very useful school-book; for it so happens; that in the whole mass of Greek literature which has remained to us, nothing is to be found in a poetic form, which presents an easy introduction to the knowledge of the language; nothing which to the school-boy who began his Latin with Phædrus and Ovid, presents similar facilities of easy construction, short sentences, and a metre of quick recurrence, serving to fix in the memory the words and phrases which are gradually acquired. The scanty remnants of Tyrtœus, the short fragments of Solon, and some extracts from Anacreon form at present the only resources available for rudimental instruction. To this stock, it should seem, that nearly the whole of Theognis (with the exception of passages corrupt or otherwise objectionable) might be added; for it will be found, that all the other fragments may be distributed in the order here proposed.—One point however must be mentioned, which has been omitted, and from a very humble motive. It appears that the Poet at some time previous to his emigration, describes the duties and qualifications of a Theorus (the Legate charged to consult and report the responses of the

Oracle at Delphi) in a manner which seems to imply, that he was either aspiring to that office or already in the exercise of it; and it appears from another fragment that he was during the same period of his life, engaged in certain judicial functions connected with public worship. These are points, which as the writer has reason to suppose, that they may have been already elucidated in works which (from an ignorance of the language in which they are written) are to him inaccessible; he has judged it more expedient to pass over.*

The motives which induce him to produce such a work, and to give it somewhat of a more popular form, have been already explained; in the mean time, a just difference to the judgement of more learned and accurate scholars, has dictated this essay, in which the main chronological conclusions, the result of much time and reflection bestowed upon the subject, are briefly, and to the best of his ability, as far as the obscurity of the subject will permit, distinctly stated.—

* It appears from the Knights of Aristophanes (v 1267) that this office of Theorus was a convenient one for "distressed Gentlemen" a probable date might therefore be assigned to these lines, after the ruin of the Poets fortunes; and before his emigration.

Synopsis of historical Dates.

The following Table may perhaps be convenient to the reader, as presenting at one view the series of dates, which, is here assumed.

Olympiad 59. A. C. 544. Theognis born in this Olympiad, and probably in the begining of it; for thirty nine years after, we find him and his friend Kurnus both in exile: Kurnus, who was the younger of the two, having been a short time before that event, placed in high office and authority.

A. C. 525. Theognis in his 20th year, Simonides and Anacreon arrive at Athens, invited by Hipparchus, whose society presented a singular combination of men of genius including Onomacritus and Lasus, the instructor of Pindar. Theognis cultivates the acquaintance of Simonides and Onomacritus: verses of a very juvenile character, and implying very familiar intercourse, are addressed to them both; he appears to have been celebrated at a very early age for poetry of a light and licentious character, for in his first serious verses addressed to Kurnus, he speaks of his poetical reputation as being already very extensviely diffused. These serious verses are communicated to his friend under a strict injunction of secrecy; and if we suppose, as is otherwise probable, that they, were composed in the last years of Hipparchus' reign, and remained undivulged at the period of his death, the supposition will serve to account, for what would otherwise appear extraodinary. The assassination of Hipparchus occurred in the 3rd. year of the 66th. Olympiad A. C. 514. in the 31st year of Theognis' age, and it is singular, considering the apparant congeniality of their characters, and the sympathy, implied in their joint partiality to the same individual (Simonides) that Theognis speaks so slightingly of the ceremonies of his funeral; which he even refuses to attend and expresses his persuasion, that the deceased entertained little or no regard for him; such a feeling however, upon the supposition before stated,

might have been perfectly natural. His serious and moral poetry had remained a secret communicated only to his most intimate friend; while his reputation for poetry of a different character was widely extended; but such a reputation, though it might attract notice, would not have recommended him to the esteem and friendship of a person like Hipparchus, who cultivated and encouraged poetry as an instrument of moral improvement, and a means of practical benefit to society. We are apt (and this appears to have been the case with Theognis) to feel resentment mixed with our mortification at a disparaging estimate; and our irritation is not much diminished by the consideration, that the person by whom this unfavourable estimate is formed has in fact formed it fairly, in reference to our apparent merits and character: we still regard it as a kind of injustice to be deprived of that consideration which, though the title has never been produced, we nevertheless feel to be our due. Of the two next events which are recorded in history, and which were likely to have produced a strong impression in the adjoining state of Megara, the expulsion of Hippias took place (see Fasti Hellenici.) A. C. 510 in the 35th year of Theognis' age.

The reform of Cleisthenes, including a total overthrow of the ancient Aristocratic government of Athens must have been effected, (as may be inferred from the tables of Prof. Muller,) in the following year. A. C. 509 in the 36th of Theognis

No allusion to either of these events is to be found in the scanty, remains of his poetry which have been preserved to us. It seems certain however, that about this time, and probably in some degree from the influence of foreign example, that revolution must have taken place in Megara, which the Poet, judging only from the necessary, operation of internal causes, had some years before, in his first moral and serious verses, pronounced to be inevitable. This revolution does not appear to have been a hasty insurrectionary movement, but to have proceeded gradually and regularly to a Crisis which obliged the Poet and his friend Kurnus, suddenly to leave the Country.

The third expedition of Cleomenes took place according to Professor Muller in the year A. C 506 in the 39th year of Theognis; he was at this time an Exile, living in Eubæa, and an eye witness of the devastation of the Lelantian plain,

which took place in consequence of the defeat of the Thebans and Chalcideans, immediately subsequent to the failure of Cleomenes' expedition. We then find him at Thebes, living as an Exile; indulging for a while the hopes of a triumphant restoration; finally disgusted with the associates, endeavouring, and failing in his endeavour, to conciliate the faction by which he had been expelled; and ultimately determining to seek his fortune for himself.

The next historical date places him at Syracuse, at the time of the Siege, an event, which Herodotus (who enumerates Syracuse among the cities besieged by Gelo) mentions as having been preceded by the overthrow of the Syracusian army on the banks of the Elorus,

The first year of the 72nd. Olympiad is assigned by Professor Muller, as an approximate date to this Battle; we may perhaps assume the same date for the siege by which it was immediately followed, viz: A. C. 492 the 53rd. year of Theognis' age;

Here then, we have from the last known date A. C. 506 (the time when he was driven from Eubæa) an interval of fourteen years, of which if we allot two to his residence at Thebes, which is a large admission; considering that the stock of money when he emigrated, was little or nothing, and his stock of patience apparently, not very ample; there would then remain twelve years; during which, renouncing all incumbrances of rank and birth, he devoted himself earnestly, after the manner of his old instructor Simonides, to the acquisition of money, spending in the mean time as little as possible, and rejoicing in the increasing amount of his accumulations. His return appears evidently to have been a peculiar act of indulgence and exception obtained, in his favor from the ruling party in Megara, the same by which he had been expelled fourteen years before. That such a favor should have been granted to a single individual, living in a situation so remote as that of Syracuse, implies the agency of some very able and influential person; and some fortunate concurrence of circumstances, affording him in the first instance, an opportunity of securing the services and good offices of a person of this description. Such an opportunity appears to have presented itself, in the arrival of the Corinthian deputy, who in conjunction with the Corcyreans, succeeded in persuading Gelo to raise the siege of Syracuse, and to rest satisfied with the cession of Camerina.

(See Fragt. CI.)

That some citizen of Corinth of distinguished political ability and address was in some way connected with the Poet's return, and exerting himself to effect it, seems to be the fact, which lies at the bottom of the, otherwise inexplicable episode of the story of Sisyphus whatever difficulty there may appear in supposing him at this time to have amassed a satisfactory amount of property, will appear much less than that, which is involved in the opposite alternative, which would suppose a similar advantageous opportunity to have occurred a second time, and to have been accompanied with the same circumstance of an able and influential citizen of Corinth undertaking on the Poet's behalf (like the fabulous old politician, his own countryman) to conciliate Persephone, the Persephone of Megara, the power from which a grant of Amnesty was to be obtained.

His actual return was preceded by a short residence in the Peloponnese and a visit to Sparta, during which time, the negotiation for his readmission to Megera was brought to a conclusion by the assistance of his friend and the sacrifice of a little money. If we suppose him to have returned at the eve of the battle of Marathon.

A. C. 490 he would have been in his 55th. year, and in this supposition there is little difficulty; the fears of a Persian invasian indeed were not terminated by that battle, but the manner in which old age is spoken of in the same lines does not appear suitable to a more advanced period of life.

(Fragt. CV.)

With the exception of some lines belonging to a later and undeterminate time, when he was occupied in arranging, reciting and publishing his collected stock of Poetry, there are no existing verses of Theognis which can be assigned to a later date than that of the period immediately subsequent to his return, The verses marking his ungracious reception by his own family must have been composed when the impression was recent.

THEOGNIS.

The verses of Theognis, which in a regular arrangement of his Fragments appear entitled to stand as the first of the Series, are those which represent him as a prosperous young Heir just entering into life, and looking forward to the enjoyment of pleasure and happiness. His vows are addressed to Jupiter as the Sovereign Deity, and to his own immediate patron, Apollo, the Founder and Protector of Megara.—We shall see, that at a later period, (in anticipation of the Persian invasion,) his vows are addressed separately to the same two Deities.

I.

Guided and aided by their holy will,
Jove and Apollo, may they guard me still,
My course of Youth in safety to fulfill:
Free from all evil, happy with my Wealth,
In joyous easy years of Peace and Health.

His amusements and accomplishments at this time, his fondness for the Pipe, which he delighted to *accompany* (for it was not allowable for a Gentleman to *play* upon so ungainly an instrument) and the pleasure which he took in playing on that graver and more decorous instrument the lyre, are expressed in another fragment

II.

My Heart exults the lively call obeying,
When the shrill merry Pipes are sweetly playing:
With these to chaunt aloud, or to recite,
To carol and carouse, is my delight:
Or in a steadfast tone, bolder and higher,
To temper with a touch the manly Lyre.

It will be seen hereafter, that these lines were in all probability composed at a later period;—but the very argument byw hich that probability is supported, will show that the cultivation of this talent, must have been the pursuit of his early youth; and that he had attained to great perfection in it.

Other verses evidently composed in his early years (but of which the first lines are untranslatable) terminate in professing his fondness for this kind of Music.

III.

To revel with the Pipe, to chaunt and sing,
This likewise is a most delightful thing—
Give me but Ease and Pleasure! What care I
For Reputation or for Property?!

It will be curious, if the reader should attain to the end of these pages, to look back upon this passage; and to see Theognis, in his graver and more parsimonious years, repeating this last sentiment, as that of the silly Spendthrift whom he is there describing; the very sort of character, he had before exhibited in his own person.!

It will be seen elsewhere, that his passion for this kind of Music, betrayed him on the one hand into some absurdities; and again, after his misfortunes, was among the means, by which he contrived to maintain himself, and to reacquire a competence.—But, we are now considering him in the period of his Youth and Prosperity. His eagerness in the pursuit of Knowledge is strongly marked in a passage which (in whatever period it may have been produced) serves to indicate a feeling, which is always strongest in early Youth.

IV.

Learning and Wealth, the wise and wealthy find
Inadequate to satisfy the mind;
A craving eagerness remains behind;
Something is left, for which we cannot rest;
And the last something always seems the best,
Something unknown, or something unpossest.

Young Mr. Theognis, as it should seem, from his own poetical statement, had succeeded in seducing a woman; unfortunately however, after a time; his delicacy was alarmed, by the discovery of a rival or rivals: hereupon he resolves either to transfer the same virtuous attachment elsewhere, or to diffuse it liberally and promiscuously.—These circumstances and this resolution, so singularly calculated to attract approbation and sympathy, are here recorded by the Author, both as a credit to himself, and an example to posterity; according to the worthy practice of what are called Amatory Poets.!

V.

My thirst was sated at a secret source,
I found it clear and limpid; but its course
Is alter'd now; polluted and impure!
I leave it; and where other springs allure,
Shall wander forth; or freely quaff my fill
From the loose current of the flowing rill

We may now proceed to the congenial, and equally edifying subject, of hard drinking.

It is observable however, that even here, Theognis exhibits traces of a peculiar mind; in a tendency to general remark and fixed method—" I sought " in my heart to give myself unto wine (yet acquainting my heart with wisdom) " and to lay hold on folly, till I might see what was that good for the Sons of " Men, that they should do under Heaven all the days of their life."—Such is the account which the Hebrew writer of proverbs is supposed to give of himself; and perhaps, it would have applied equally to the Grecian; but, in Theognis, we see the actual course of experiment, arising from a spirit of systematic curiosity; whereas in the book of Ecclesiastes, assumed, to have been written upon a retrospect, we have the motives and the result.

VI.

To prove our Gold or Silver coarse or fine,
Fire is the test; for Man the proof is Wine:
Wine can unravel secrets, and detect
And bring to shame the proudest intellect,
Hurried and overborn with its effect.

The following lines are curious, as affording a chronological approximation. Onomacritus to whom they are addressed (but whose name could not easily be brought into an English verse) was a favorite of Hipparchus but afterwards banished by him for a sacrilegious forgery; Being at the time, the Curator of a collection of oracles in the possession of the two brothers * he had been detected in a willful interpolation.—If we take the middle of the fourteen years of Hipparchus' reign, as the probable date of these lines, they would have been composed by Theognis at the age of 23 or 24 which considering the nature of the subject, seems probable enough.

* Hippias and Hipparchus the Sons of Peisistratus joint rulers of Athens.

VII.

My Brain grows dizzy, whirl'd and overthrown
With Wine; my senses are no more my own;
The Ceiling and the Walls are wheeling round.
But, let me try—! perhaps my limbs are sound:
Let me retire, with my remaining sense,
For fear of idle language and offence.!

The next fragment is addressed to Simonides; Simonides had been invited to Athens by Hipparchus, aud attached to his service and society by liberal payments and presents. Onomacritus and he were probably joint visitors at Megara, or Theognis might have joined their society at Athens. The Lines seem to have been written about the same time; and during the same paroxism of experimental conviviality as the preceeding. Theognis, who in his own opinion, is not more drunk than a man ought to be, remonstrates with Simonides, who being President of the meeting and further advanced in liquor, had become overbearing and absurd. Theognis, as in the former

fragment, takes his leave, being apprehensive of exceeding the precise bounds of inebriety which he had prescribed to himself. These lines shew great previous familiarity and the petulance of a young man, who takes upon himself to give a lecture to his friend and Instructor on the principles of the sublime art of *scavoir vivre*—Such a lecture coming from a senior, would have been felt seriously, as an offensive reprimand.

VIII.

Never oblige your company to stay!
Never detain a man; nor send away!
Nor rouse from his repose, the weary guest,
That sinks upon the couch with wine oppress't!
These formal rules enforc'd, against the will,
Are found offensive—Let the Bearer fill
Just as we please—freely to drink away;
Such merry meetings come not every day.
For me;—since for to night, my stint is finish'd,
Before my common sense is more diminish'd;
I shall retire (the rule, I think is right)
Not absolutely drunk, nor sober quite.
For he that drinks beyond the proper point
Puts his own sense and judgement out of joint,
Talking ourageous, idle, empty stuff;
(The mere effect of wine more than enough)
Telling a thousand things, that on the morrow,
He recollects with sober shame and sorrow:
At other times, and in his proper nature,
An easy, quite, and amiable creature.
Now, you Simonides, mind what I say!
You chatter in your cups and prate away,
Like a poor slave, drunk on a holiday.
You never can resolve to leave your liquor,
The faster it comes round, you drink the quicker—

There's some excuse—"The Slave has fill'd the cup
A Challenge—or a Pledge"—you drink it up!
"'Tis a Libation"—and you're so devout,
You can't refuse it!—Manly brains and stout
Might stand the trial, drinking hard and fast,
And keep their sense and judgment to the last.
Farewell! be merry! may your hours be spent,
Without a quarel! or an argument,
In inoffensive, easy merriment;
Like a good concert keeping time and measure
Such entertainments give the truest pleasure.

These verses are not very elegant nor very dignified; and if they were, they would not be a just representation of the original: we may however consent to read them as we do others of no greater merit in our own language, in illustration of the tone and manners of the time to which they belong. In both we have natural unelevated prose conveyed in the form of metre. This seems to be the proper style of Theognis, when not raised above himself by passion or feeling or by the higher character of his subject.—We now proceed to his moral and political verses which (as mankind are usually more ashamed of wisdom than of folly, or from prudential reasons more cautious in concealing it) seem to have been suppressed for a time, and to have been communicated to his most intimate friend under an injunction of secrecy.

IX.

Kurnus, these lines of mine, let them remain
Conceal'd and secret—verse of such a strain
Betrays its author—all the world would know it!
« This is Theognis, the Megarian poet,
« So celebrated and renown'd in Greece!»
Yet some there are, forsooth, I cannot please;
Nor ever could contrive, with all my skill,
To gain the common liking and good will
Of these my fellow Citizens.—No wonder!

Not even He, the God that wields the thunder
(The Sovereign all-wise almighty Jove)
Can please them with his government above:
Some call for rainy weather, some for dry,
A discontented and discordant cry
Fills all the Earth, and reaches to the Sky.

In a passage preserved to us, by Stobæus, Xenophon, after quoting from the preceeding fragment, the fourth line of the translation, proceeds to connect it with the fragment which follows; explaining it in his own manner. "*These are the verses of Theognis of Megara.*"—'The subject which the poet 'seems to me to have had in view, appears to have been simply a treatise on 'the good and bad qualities of Mankind. He treats of Man in the same manner 'as a Writer would do of any other animal (of Horses for instance) his exordium 'seems to me, a perfectly proper one; for he begins with the subject of breed; 'considering, that neither men nor any other animals, are likely to prove good 'for any thing, unless they are produced from a good stock. He illustrates his 'principle, by a reference to those animals in which breed is strictly attended 'to; these lines therefore, are not merely an invective against the mercenary 'spirit of his countrymen (as the generality of readers imagine) they seem to 'me to be directed against the negligence and ignorance of mankind in the 'management and economy of their own species.' Such was the judgment of Xenophon upon this passage; different, as it should seem, from that of his Countrymen and contemporaries.—

But we must recollect that the maintenance of a physical and personal superiority was considered as a point of paramount importance, by all the Aristocracies of Doric race. The Spartans, the most perfect type of such an Aristocracy, reared no infants who appeared likely to prove defective in form; and condemned their King Archidamus to a fine, for having married a diminutive wife. Xenophon himself, speaks of it elsewhere, as a well known fact, that the Spartans were eminently superior in strength and comeliness of person.—As a result of this principle, we can account for what would otherwise appear a very singular circumstance; that the most eminent of the Olympic

champions upon record, Diagoras and Milo, were both, of the most distinguished families in their native Doric states, Rhodes and Crotona.—Xenophon therefore, who considered Theognis as belonging to a Doric Aristocracy; and who was himself a Dorian in his habits and partialities, interprets him more in a physical, than in a moral sense; and considers misalliances as a cause, rather than a consequence of the debasement of the higher orders.

X.

With Kine and Horses, Kurnus! we proceed
By reasonable rules, and choose a breed
For profit and increase, at any price;
Of a sound stock, without defect or vice.
But, in the daily matches that we make,
The price is every thing; for money's sake,
Men marry; Women are in marriage given:
The Churl or Ruffian, that in wealth has thriven,
May match his offspring with the proudest race:
Thus every thing is mix'd, noble and base!
If then in outward manner, form and mind,
You find us a degraded, motley kind,
Wonder no more my friend! the cause is plain,
And to lament the consequence is vain.

From Birth, we proceed to Education. Here we find Theognis taking the same side with Pindar and Euripides, in a question, which seems to have been long agitated in the Heathen world. "*Whether Virtue and Vice were innate?* concluding, like them, for the affirmative. This fragment is separated from the preceeding. Yet, according to the opinions of those times, there was a connection between them, and the process of thought is continuous. The existence of the evil had been stated, and the Poet proceeds to argue, that it is not capable of being remedied by human contrivance—After which, in two succeeding fragments, we shall see him following the cause into its consequences, as exemplified in the degradation of the higher orders, and the comparative elevation of their former inferiors.

XI.

To rear a Child is easy, but to teach
Morals and manners, is beyond our reach;
To make the foolish Wise, the wicked Good;
That Science never yet was understood.
The sons of Esculapius, if their art
Could remedy a perverse and wicked heart,
Might earn enormous wages! But in fact,
The mind is not compounded and compact
Of precept and example; human Art
In human Nature has no share or part
Hatred of Vice, the fear of Shame and Sin
Are things of native growth, not grafted in:
Else wise and worthy parents might correct
In children's hearts each error and defect;
Whereas, we see them disappointed still,
No scheme nor artifice of human skill
Can rectify the passions or the will.

We now come to those fragments, which must have occasioned the injunctions of secrecy, and which mark the peculiarity of the Author's mind; He distinctly prognosticates an approaching Revolution originating in the misrule of the Party to which he himself naturally belonged; and of which his friend Kurnus was, if not the actual, the anticipated chief; for we shall see him driven from his country at an early age, after having been for some time at the head of the State.—He warns him of the rising intelligence and spirit of the lower Orders; the feebleness, selfishness and falsehood of the higher; and the discontent which their mode of government was exciting.

XII.

Our Commonwealth preserves its former frame,
Our Common People are no more the same:
They, that in their skins and hides were rudely dress'd,
Nor dreamt of law, nor sought to be redress'd
By rules of right; but in the days of old
Flock'd to the town, like Cattle to the fold;
Are now the brave and wise; and we, the rest,
(Their betters nominally, once the best)
Degenerate, debas'd timid and mean!
Who can endure to witness such a scene?
Their easy courtesies, the ready smile,
Prompt to deride, to flatter and beguile!
Their utter disregard of right or wrong;
Of truth or honor!—Out of such a throng
(For any difficulties, any need,
For any bold design or manly deed)
Never imagine you can choose a just
Or steady friend, or faithful in his trust.
But, change your habits! let them go their way!
Be condescending, affable and gay!
Adopt with every man, the style and tone
Most courteous and congenial with his own!
But, in your secret counsels keep aloof
From feeble paltry souls; that at the proof
Of danger or distress, are sure to fail;
For whose salvation, nothing can avail!

In the sixth line of the foregoing fragment the writer does not profess to have given an exact version of the original, which, to say the truth, he does not quite understand, but it is evident that the Poet is speaking of the former condition of the Commonalty as that of a Class of inferior animals.

XIII. 39-52

Our State is pregnant; shortly to produce
A rude Avenger of prolong'd abuse
The Commons hitherto seem soberminded,
But their Superiors are corrupt and blinded.
  The rule of noble spirits brave and high
Never endanger'd peace and harmony.
  The supercilious, arrogant pretence
Of feeble minds; weakness and insolence;
Justice and truth and law wrested aside
By crafty shifts of avarice and pride;
These are our ruin Kurnus!—never dream,
(Tranquil and undisturb'd as it may seem)
Of future peace or safety to the state;
Bloodshed and strife will follow soon or late.
Never imagine, that a ruin'd land
Will trust her destiny to your command
To be remodell'd by a single hand.

The meaning and intention of the writer (such as I conceive it) is not so clearly expressed either in the original or in the translation, as not to require a commentary. If expanded into its full dimensions, it would stand thus. "The governments by an Aristocracy of Caste, such as ours, have never been overthrown, while they have been directed by men of generous character, and resolute magnanimous spirits; the danger does not arise, till they are succeeded by a poor spirited selfish generation, exercising the same arbitrary authority with mean and mercenary views."

In the concluding triplet, an enigmatic allusion to the views and expectations of his friend, is expanded into an intelligible form. In the preceeding

generation,* the instances had not been unfrequent, of able men being invested with discretionary power to re-organize a distracted commonwealth; but this confidence had been in many instances abused; the plenary power committed to them for a time; having been converted into a permanent despotism. The poet therefore is warning his friend, that the Citizens of Megara are too wary to have recourse to such an expedient, and that his expectations of being invested with supreme authority, were not likely to be fulfilled.

* Solon had been ridiculed and censured, for having missed the opportunity which was thus placed in his hands, of establishing himself as a despotic Ruler in Athens.—He himself describes in some admirable trochaic lines, the kind of language that was held by his aspiring, unscrupulous, scoundrelly cotemporaries.

"Solon as a Politician shew'd a weak and empty mind,
Destitute of resolution; when the Destinies design'd,
To reward and elevate him; when the mighty Net was cast
And the prey securely compass'd; undecided and aghast,
He refrain'd and hesitated; 'till the noble, wealthy prize
In an instant burst the tackle, and escap'd before his eyes
I despise him for the failure,—for myself I fairly say
'Only let me rule in Athens, for a year, a month, a day!
'Then depose, assasinate, exterminate my name and kin!
'Murder and demolish all! Flay me alive and tan my skin."!

To which he answers:—

"Truth it is, that I declin'd, the bloody desperate career
Of tyrannical command; to rule alone and domineer,
In my native happy Land, with arbitrary force and fear,
Neither have I since repented; unreproached, without a crime
Placed alone, uparalleld among the statesmen of the time

Flay me alive! and tan my skin! The original, for which this phrase is given does not, I imagine, appear quite intelligible to the generality of readers.—The Writer who had long admired these lines, had never been able to account for the epithet ὕστερον as applied to a *wine skin*, till the difficulty was accidentally solved, by a sight of the thing signified.—It is a wineskin in which the Maker has chosen to exhibit his skill, by including *the extremities*.—It was a kind of proverbial pledge, expressive of a readiness to submit to extreme suffering and hardship.—*I will submit to be flayed and made into a wine skin!* But a phrase, which had become trite and trivial, was not suited to the earnestness, with which Solons Politician is made to express himself— He is represented as giving a new form and vivacity to the common phrase by specifying the particular sort of wine skin (the one already described) into which he would consent to be transformed.

Upon this subject it is envious to observe, how frequently republics have felt the necessity of submitting to an uncontrolled irresponsible power. Even in Athens, towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, the question seems to have been mooted in favour of Alcibiades.*—The Italian republics had recourse to Foreigners; sometimes to a person of high rank, sometimes to a learned lawyer from Bologna, but always to a Foreigner. The precaution adopted by the Roman Republic was different; and proved a decided failure. They appointed a board of Commissioners—The Decemvirs!!

* see Frogs, the last lines of the Antepirema and v. 1451. 2, 3.

The following examples and warnings are adduced from traditional fable and later history.

XIV.

My friend I fear it! pride which overthrew
The mighty Centaurs and their hardy crew;
Our pride will ruin us, your friends and you.

541-42

XV.

Pride and oppressive rule destroy'd the state
Of the Magnesians—Such was Smyrna's fate
Smyrna, the rich and Colophon the great!
And ours my Friend, will follow, soon or late.

Of the history of those governments, we know nothing, they were known to Theognis, probably by the poems of authors like himself; one of whom (in a fragment acccidentally preserved) speaks of his fellow citizens of Colophon, as overbearing and oppressive from the time of their first setllement." But the example of the Magnesians (whatever it may have been) seems to have presented to Theognis, the most opposite parallel to the state of Megara; accordingly, as an anxious nnd earnest adviser, regardless of repetition, he recurs to the conduct and fate of the Magnesian government, with a preface too, almost in the same words, as in frag: XIII.

XVI.

Kurnus, our state is pregnant to produce
The avenger of oppression and abuse!
The Birth (believe me) will not tarry long:
For the same course of Outrage and of Wrong,
Which ruin'd the Magnesian State of old,
That very same, we witness and behold.

In this state of things, the line of conduct which the Poet prescribed to himself, is explained in the following lines.

XVII.

I walk by rule and measure, and incline
To neither side, but take an even line;
Fix'd in a single purpose and design.
With learning's happy gifts to celebrate,
To civilize and dignify the State:
Not leaguing with the discontented Crew,
Nor with the Pround and Arbitrary Few.

By an unavoidable consequence of his neutrality, he was (as it appears) blamed and abused on all sides, consoling himself, in the meantime, with the consciousness of his intellectual superiority.

XVIII.

That happy man, my friend, was never seen
Nor born into the world, whom saucy spleen
Forbore to scandalize! I know not, I!
What they would have? but whether I comply
To join with others in pursuit of ill;
Or keep myself aloof; they blame me still—

Such is my fortune; never understood,
But censur'd by the wicked or the good!
My consolation still remains the same;
Fools cannot imitate the Man they blame.

In poetry, which is evidently in every instance suggested by circumstances; and which in its style approaches to the language of conversation; we must not be surprized, any more than we should be in actual conversation; to find the same person at different times, repeating occasionally the same thoughts and expressions. The following fragment is almost entirely a repetition from fragments IX and XVIII.

XIX.

That happy man, my friend! that has through life
Pass'd unobnoxious to reproach or strife . . . .
. . . . Never existed yet; nor ever will!!
A Task there is, which Jove could not fulfill,
Infinite power and wisdom both combin'd
Would not avail to satisfy mankind.

This sensibility to public opinion appears again strongly marked in the following fragment.

XX.

The generous and the brave, in common fame,
From time to time encounter praise or blame;
The vulgar pass unheeded; none escape
Scandal or insult in some form or shape.
Most fortunate are those, alive or dead,
Of whom the least is thought, the least is said.

The apparent contradiction which is to be found in this passage, exists also in the original. That his understanding was undervalued by the practical busy persons of the time, may be inferred from the following lines.

XXI.

The worldly minded and the worldly wise,
In ignorance and arrogance despise
All talents and attainments but their own:
Wisdom is theirs, they think; and theirs alone.
But no! the Lessons of deceit and wrong,
In point of fact, are neither hard nor long;
And many know them;—but a better Will,
Prohibits some from practising their skill:
Some have a taste for good, and some for Ill.

Of himself, in the mean time, as a practical politician, he speaks in substance rather disqualifyingly.

XXII.

Many true counsels in this breast of mine
Lie buried; many a just and fair design:
But inefficient, indolent and weak,
I know my nature, and forbear to speak.

The period of comparative happiness and tranquillity was now drawing to a close, and the Poet, whose mind had hitherto been only occasionally saddened by the prospect of approaching evils, was doomed to witness a Revolution, to be stript of his property; and some time after, forced to abandon his native city in company with his friend, and to commence a long course of exile and poverty.

The elements of a Revolution, as appears from the preceding fragments, were already in existence; but they were called into activity by the example of the powerful neighbouring State of Athens; where the murder of Hipparchus, had been followed at the end of three years, by the expulsion of Hippias, upon which, the ancient form of Athenian government had been again established for a short time; after which, the weaker faction of the Nobility joining themselves with the People, effected an entire abolition of the Aristocracy of Caste: The very same species of Aristocracy, which was in existence in Megara; but whose existence was threatened (as has been seen in the preceding fragments) by its own misrule, and by the growing discontent of a more intelligent commonalty. A revolution therefore at Megara was unavoidable; and we shall see, that it took place acordingly.

As a preface to the fragments which belong to this turbulent period, the lollowing lines, referring to the asassination of Hipparchus, and the splendour of his Fnneral may properly find their place.

The question of obedience or resistance to a Sovereign *de facto,* as it was viewed in Greece, by a man of speculative and original mind, upwards of two thousand three hundred years ago; may be considered as a matter of curiosity.

XXIII.

Court not a Tyrant's favour, nor combine
To further his iniquitous design!
But, if your faith is pledg'd; though late and loth,
If Covenants have pass'd between you both;
Never assassinate him! keep your Oath!
But should he still misuse his lawless power,
To trample on the people, and devour:
Depose or overturn him; any how!
Your oath permits it, and the Gods allow.

The two following fragments are also found separate; but thongh relating to the same subject of a royal funeral, and appearing to be extracts from the same Poem, they have not the same mark of continuity as the two preceding, and are therefore put separately.

XXIV.

I shall not join the Funeral Train, to go
An idle follower in the pomp of woe:
For why—no duty binds me; nor would He,
Their arbitary Chief, have monrn'd for me.

XXV.

I envy not these sumptuous Obsequies,
The stately Car the purple canopies;
Much better pleas'd am I, remaining here,
With cheaper equipage and better cheer.
A couch of thorns, or an embroider'd bed
Are matters of indifference to the dead.

Two fragments are found (singularly enough) in immediate juxta-position with each other, and with one of the preceding. The first of the two appears to be descriptive of the character of Hipparchus; and the second, to have been suggested by the sudden catastrophe which befell him.

XXVI.

Easy discourse with steady sense combin'd,
Are rare endowments in a single mind.

XXVII.

No costly sacrifice nor offerings given
Can change the purpose of the Powers of Heaven;
Whatever Fate ordains, danger or hurt
Or Death predestin'd, nothing can avert.

In the following Fragment, the phrase ὁ εἷς is evidently used in the same sense as its corresponding term, "*The single person*" which was so frequently employed in England during the ten years from 1650 to 1660 to signify an individual exercising the functions of royalty.

XXVIII.

The Sovereign Single Person—What cares he
For Love or Hate, for Friend or Enemy!?
—His single purpose is utility.

Some remarks on the probable causes of this coldness of feeling towards Hipparchus will be found stated in the short Chronological Abstract, and may serve to illustrate this last Fragment.

The exact order of time and events, in the short and confused period between the commencement of the changes which took place at Megara, and the Emigration or Escape of Theognis and his friend; cannot be satisfactorily deduced from the Fragments which exist. It appear however that Theognis, by some means or other, was at a very early period deprived of the greater part of his property; since two events are mentioned subsequent to his ruin and anterior to his flight from Megara. The first is the arrival of his friend Clearistus,* and of his old friend and† instructor Simonides; moreover two Seasons of the Year are mentioned; ploughing and harvest.‡ That the loss of his property was in some way or other, the work of the opposite faction, is clear, from the circumstance of his looking to the triumph of his own friends, as the means of recovering it, and avenging himself upon those who had despoiled him of it, as he says, "With violence and outrage" but by what

* LIX. † LXIII.
‡ LX. and LXI.

process, or under what pretence this spoliation was effected, it is by no means easy to conjecture.

Kurnus in the mean time, had held the first authority in the State; for his deposition from the highest office will be found distinctly alluded to, in the verses occasioned by the visit of Simonides abovementioned.* The same verses shew, that the state of things had become, in consequence more desperate; and it appears from another passage; that, under these circumstances, Theognis himself, had become the advocate of bold and violent measures, which up to that time, he had deprecated.

* LXIII.

Finally, the flight of the two friends from Megara was determined by the approach of an auxiliary force, dispatched (probably from Corinth,) as a reinforcement to their opponents. These events must have succeeded to each other, within a short period of time; for when the Athenians invaded Eubæa, Theognis was already an Exile.†

† LXX. LXXI LXXII.

Having now brought together the few Fragments which serve to illustrate the political condition of the community to which he belonged, and the situation and sentiments of the Poet himself, during the period anterior to the commencement of civil commotion;—It may be convenient to place under a single point of view, other passages referable to the same time, and illustrative of the character of the friend to whom these and other poems were addressed; and to whose person and fortunes, (in spite of some occasional intervals of aversion and offence) he appears to have been most sincerely attached. They consist of advice, strictly personal; these which relate to the general aspect of affairs, having been given already. There are also remonstrances relative to misconduct and defect of character.—It being impossible to determine the order in wich they succeeded, they have been assembled promiscuously:—Those of Anger and reproach are classed apart. The conduct which Theognis recommends to his friend in the first instance, is similar to that which he had prescribed to himself; namely to remain indifferent between the two contending factions.

XXIX.

If popular distrust and hate prevail,
If saucy mutineers insult and rail,
Fret not your eager spirit! take a line
Just, sober and discreet, the same as mine!

But, such advice was not likely to be followed; Kurnus appears to have been the spoiled child of his Friends and his Fellow citizens; the man, on whom his Party had placed their hopes; possessing all the advantages of person, wealth, birth and abilities, accompanied with those defects, by which those advantages are so frequently counterbalanced; and which in a similar, but more celebrated instance (that of Alcibiades) proved ruinous to their possessor.—He seems to have been at no pains to conceal his natural arrogance, or to dissemble his feelings of antipathy or contempt; and to have been (at one time at least) incapable of bending his mind to the performance of necessary but disagreeable duties.—This last defect is noted in the following lines; in which the sense of the original has been adhered to, though the expression has been unavoidably amplified.

XXX.

My friend, the feeling you can not correct,
Will work at last a ruinous effect,
To disappoint your hopes. You cannot learn
To bear unpleasant things with unconcern;
Nor work without repugnance or disgust
In Tasks, that ought to be perform'd, and must.

In the choise of his associates and adherents, the conduct of Kurnus, seems to have been in contradiction with the advice of his friend. We have seen in in Frag: XII. that he warns him against placing any reliance on a particular class of persons, whom he there describes. Admonitions to the same effect are repeated in other instances.

The kind of qualities, which Theognis required in a friend, may serve to give a notion of the violent Character of the Times, and of the eritical condition of the Party, to which he belonged.

XXXI.

I care not for a Friend, that at my board
Talks pleasantly; the Friend that will afford
Faithful assistance with his purse and sword
In need or danger; let that Friend be mine!
Fit for a bold and resolute design:
Not for a conversation over wine!

The two following fragments are nearly to the same effect.

XXXII.

Let no persuasive art tempt you to place
Your confidence in crafty minds and base!
How can it answer? Will their help avail
When danger presses, and your foes assail?
The blessing which the Gods in bounty send,
Will they consent to share it with a friend?
No!—To bestrew the waves with scatter'd grain!
To cultivate the surface of the Main,
Is not a task more absolutely vain,
Than cultivating such Allies as these;
Fickle and unproductive as the seas!
Such are all baser minds; never at rest,
With new demands importunately press'd
A new pretension or a new request;
Fill, foil'd with a refusal of the last,
They disavow their obligations past.

But brave and gallant hearts are cheaply gain'd,
Faithful adherents, easily retain'd;
Men that will never disavow the debt
Of gratitude, or cancel or forget.

XXXIII.

The Civil Person (He that to your face
Professing friendship, in another place
Talks in an alter'd tone) is not the Man
For determin'd hearty Partizan.
Give me, the Comrade, eager to defend,
And in his absence, vindicate a Friend!
Whose strong attachment will abide the brunt
Of bitter altercation, and confront
Calumnious outrage, with a fierce reproof:
Like brethren bred beneath a father's roof,
Friends, such as these, may serve for your behoof
—None others—Mark my words! and let them be
Fix'd as a token in your memory,
For aftertimes; to make you think of me!

That nothing may be omitted, a fourth fragment on the same subject is subjoined.

XXXIV.

Never engage with a poltroon or craven,
Avoid him Kurnus; as a treach'rous Haven!*
Those friends, and hearty comrades as you think,
(Ready to join you, when you feast and drink,)
Those easy friends, from difficulty shrink.

* Sic in Orig.

For a shrew'd intellect, the best employ
Is to detect a soul of base alloy;
No task is harder nor imports so much;
Silver or Gold, you prove it by the touch;
You separate the pure, discard the dross,
And disregard the labor and the loss;
But, a friend's heart, base and adulterate,
A friendly surface with a core of hate!
Of all the frauds, with which the Fates have curst
Our simple easy nature, is the worst:
Beyond the rest, ruinous in effect;—
And of all others, hardest to detect,
For Men's and Women's hearts you cannot try
Before hand, like the Cattle that you buy.
Nor human Wit nor Reason, when you treat
For such a purchase, can escape deceit;
Fancy betrays us, and assists the cheat.

If these Fragments were considered separately, we might imagine that Theognis was exciting his friend to some violent measure, and exhorting him to surround himself with adherents capable of putting it in excecution: We shall see however elsewhere, that this was not the case; and that he is only warning him (as we have already seen in the last lines of Frag: XII) against placing a false confidence in inefficient associates, and encumbering himself with the sort of burdensome and unprofitable dependency described in Frag: XXXII. The Athenian, Alcibiades, had been considered the hope and future support of the party of the Nobility to which he naturally belonged; till an impatience of the superiority of older men, whose talents and services had placed them at the head of that party, led him to connect himself with the popular faction.—Kurnus, either not meeting with the same obstacles to ascendency in his own party, or from whatever other reason, seems to have adhered to the cause of the Aristocracy of Megara, with perfect tenacity; upholding, and partaking in their worst abuses; as may be inferred from the remonstrances of his friend.

XXXV.

Waste not your efforts, struggle not my friend,
Idle and old abuses to defend!
Take heed! the very measures that you press,
May bring repentance with their own success.

We have seen in Frag: XIII that iniquitous and partial decisions formed one of the main grievances which endangered the public tranquility; and the following fragment expresses, though less distinctly than in the original, that Kurnus himself was a principal in iniquities of this kind.

XXXVI.

Kurnus proceed like me! Walk not awry!
Nor trample on the bounds of property!

The commission of some other offence, (an offence against the Gods) probably something in the nature of sacrilege or perjury, is obscurely, as if unwillingly, intimated, and attributed to the bad associates with whom he was engaged.

XXXVII.

"Bad company breeds mischief" Kurnus you
Can prove that ancient proverb to be true
In your own instance: You yourself were driven
To an unrighteous act; offending Heaven!

Of the prudential and practical defects in Kurnus's character, we have seen an instance in Frag: XXX. the following is probably of a much earlier date; it seems to be the sort of advice suited to a young man just entering the world, but marks a degree of rashness and irritability in the character to

which such admonitions were addressed. The original is miserably mangled; two lines being evidently wanting between 203 and 204 since in this last, there is a pronoun without an antecedent, and a verb also (for δόκει I apprehend cannot be here in the imperative mood) without its nominative case. It should seem, that a person spoken of in an injurious manner, is the antecedent to the pronoun; and the person so speaking (and who flatters himself that the absent person whom he has been abusing, will never hear of it) is the nominative case to the verb. The sense and intention of the original, though not literally interpreted, is at least intelligibly given in the following lines.

XXXVIII.

At entertainments, shew yourself discreet:
Remember, that amongst the guests you meet,
The absent have their friends; and may be told
Of rash or idle language which you hold.
Learn to endure a jest—you may display
Your courage elsewhere, in a better way.

The last line of the original is left untranslated, it has no connection with the preceeding. and seems to mark another chasm, which it would not be easy to supply. The above have the appearance of being part of a series of Maxims; but a propensity to anger and intemperate language, seems to be indicated in another fragment, apparently of later date than the former, but they are both probably earlier than any of the admonitory ones.

XXXIX.

Rash angry words, and spoken out of season,
When passion has usurp'd the throne of reason,
Have ruin'd many—Passion is unjust,
And for an idle transitory gust
Of gratified revenge, dooms us to pay
With long repentance at a later day.

A sort of Coriolanus-like insolence and contempt of the Commonalty is marked in the following.

XL.

The Gods send Insolence, to lead astray
The man whom Fortune and the Fates betray;
Predestin'd to precipitate decay.
Wealth nurses Insolence, and wealth we find
When coupled with a poor and paltry mind
Is evermore with Insolence combin'd.
Never in anger, with the meaner sort
Be mov'd to a contemptuous harsh retort;
Deriding their distresses; nor despise
In hasty speech, their wants and miseries.
Jove holds the balance, and the Gods dispense
For all Mankind, riches and indigence.

Among the defects of Kurnus's character, one, not uncommonly incident to men of genius, but peculiarly unfortunate in a public man, seems to have been, a morbid fastidiousness, producing a sort of premature misanthropy; such at least is the inference deducible from the following lines. Observe too, that the last lines of Frag: X refer to Kurnus's contemptuous estimate of his contemporaries.

XLI.

Learn, Kurnus learn, to bear an easy mind;
Accommodate your humour to mankind
And human nature;—Take it as you find!
A mixture of ingredients, good or bad
Such are we all; the best that can be had:
The best are found defective; and the rest,
For common use, are equal to the best.

Suppose it had be otherwise decreed—
How could the buisness of the world proceed?
Fairly examin'd, truly understood,
No man is wholly bad, nor wholly good,
Nor uniformly wise. In every case,
Habit and accident, and Time and Place
Affect us. 'Tis the Nature of the race!

Theognis's admonitions and suggestions in counteraction of this defect, are not very magnanimous; they resemble the concluding lines of fragment XII.

XLII.

Join with the world! adopt with every man;
His party views, his temper and his plan!
Strive to avoid offence! study to please!
Like the sagacious Inmate of the Seas;
That, an accommodating colour brings,
Conforming to the Rock to which he clings;
With every change of place, changing his hue;
The model for a Statesman, such as you!

The bickerings and quarrels between Kurnus and his friend, since no precise order can be assigned to them, must be necessarily classed together; though it is probable, they belong to very different periods, from the time of their first entrance into the world, to the date of their expatriation. That these quarrels took place in more instances than one, seems evident from the different position in which Theognis is placed. In one he intimates that he has been deceived, and his confidence abused; in another, he deprecates unrelenting resentment for a slight offence; in another, he speaks as a person

unjustly calumniated; Another fragment, which seems to have arisen out of the same circumstances, I should be inclined to assign to the time, when Kurnus was at the head of affairs; and when Theognis's fortunes were ruined; the others were probably anterior; but at what time or in what order, it is not easy to conjecture.

In the absence of all other motives of choice, a fragment is placed here, similar in its tone to the last of the preceding series. There can be little doubt that the friend alluded to is Theognis, himself.

XLIII.

Let not a base calumnious pretence,
Exaggerating a minute offence,
Move you to wrong a Friend! if, every time,
Faults in a friend were treated as a crime,
Here upon earth, no friendship could have place.
But we, the creatures of a faulty race
Amongst ourselves, offend and are forgiven:
Vengeance is the prerogative of Heaven.

The following must have arisen out of some other ground of difference; though indirectly expressed, it is evidently intended to bear a personal application.

XLIV.

A rival or antagonist is hard
To be deceiv'd; they stand upon their guard:
But, an old friend, Kurnus, is unprepard!

In the following, a feeling of coldness and distrust is marked on the part of the poet; he is rejecting some proposal made to him by his friend, as tending to engage and compromise him.

XLV.

That Smith, dear Kurnus, shews but little wit,
Who forges fetters, his own feet to fit.
Excuse me, Kurnus; I can not comply
Thus to be yok'd in harness — never try
To bind me strictly, with too close a tie.

With respect to the next fragment, there can be no doubt; it is sufficiently decided, and angry enough.

XLVI.

No more with empty phrase and speeches fine,
Seek to delude me, let your heart be mine!
Your Friendship or your Enmity declare
In a decided form, open and fair!
An enemy disguis'd, a friend in shew,
—I like him better, Kurnus as a Foe!

The next expresses a consciousness of innocence, and a defiance of unjust calumny. It is observable, that we find here, the same singular association of ideas (Water and Gold) as in the first lines of Pindar. In Pindar, they are probably meant to be significant, and to mark his Initation in the Mysteries, in which the successive degrees were connected with these symbols; and He (the most scrupulous and devout of all heathen Poets) begins his book with them; upon the same principle as a Catholic (in some countries at least) begins his Letters with the sign of the cross. In Theognis, the association may have been perhaps, an involuntary result.

XLVII.

Yes! Drench me with invective! not a stain
From all that angry deluge will remain!
Fair harmless Water, dripping from my skin,
Will mark no foulness or defect within.
As the pure standard Gold of ruddy hue,
Prov'd by the touchstone, unalloy'd and true;
Unstain'd by rust, untarnish'd to the sight;
Such, will you find me;—Solid, pure and bright.

This image of the trial of Gold seems from some reason or other, to have been peculiarly familiar to the Poet's mind. It occurs in Frag: VI. and XXXIV. and will be found again in verses composed during his exile Frag: LXXVIII. See the extraordinary work of Mr. Whiter on the association of ideas, considered as an instrument of criticism, and his application of it to the peculiar turns of transition observable in Shakespear.

The two next relate apparently to minor differences; in the first, the Poet is out of humour, at being in his turn advised and admonished.

XLVIII.

Change for the worse, is sooner understood,
And sooner practis'd, than from bad to good.
Do not advise and school me! good my Friend!
I'm past the time to learn.—I cannot mend.

The next treats of that useless and interminable question "Whose fault it was?

XLIX.

You blame me for an error not my own,
Dear Friend! the fault was yours, and yours alone.

The two following, look more like a decided rupture, than any of the foregoing; they seem both to belong to the same time; and the tone is similar; the services mentioned in the first, are insisted upon more at lenght in the second; (which seems to shew, that the obligation consisted in the celebrity conferred upon his friend, by the poetry in which his name was recorded.) A conjecture as to the time of their composition, has been already hazarded.

L.

My mind is in a strange distracted state;
Love you, I cannot! — and I cannot hate!
'Tis hard to change habitual goodwill,
Hard to renounce our better thoughts for ill,
To love without return, is harder still.
But mark my resolution and protest!
Those services, for which you once profess'd
A sense of obligation due to me,
On my part were gratuitous and free;
No Task had I, no duty to fulfil;
No motive, but a kind and friendly Will—
Now, like a liberated Bird I fly,
That having snapt the noose, ranges on high,
Proud of his flight, and viewing in disdain
The broken fetter and the baffled swain
And his old haunt, the lowly marshy plain!
For you! the secret interested end,
Of him your new pretended party friend,
Whose instigation moved you to forego
Your former friendship, time will shortly shew;
Time will unravel all the close design,
And mark his merits, as compar'd with mine.

The second of these fragments has been injudiciously subdivided by Mr. Brunck: a gentleman, to whose memory, the cause of literature is deeply indebted, for the zeal with which he attached himself to its service, with great acuteness, and an energy truly admirable; but whose edition of Theognis, though it has the merit of being the first, in which any attempt was made to mark the beginnings and ends of the separate fragments, (which had been fused into one uniform dense and unintelligible mass) bears nevertheless evident marks of the haste and eagerness which enabled him to accomplish so many great works in so short a space of time. The fragment in question, whether perfect or not, is evidently one and indivisible; the argument throughout, being continuous. The expostulation is a full development of the allusion to former services and obligations expressed in the preceding (really a separate) fragment. It may be observed, that the similes in both, are parallel and to the same effect, expressing a renunciation of friendship, under the image of an escape from bondage.

The argument, of the second fragment, if coarsely stated, would stand thus "I have conferred upon you, a celebrity similar to that which would have resulted to you from a victory at the Olympic Games" (the great object of personal ambition among the most eminent individuals and Sovereigns of the Grecian race; and requiring for the chance of its attainment, a most profuse expenditure) "Moreover, the celebrity which I have thus gratuitously conferred upon you, is much more lasting, more brilliant and more extensive; but instead of any suitable return for such a service; you are so destitute of those first blessings, common sense and common justice, that you treat me with neglect; and when, like every body else, I have an object, which I am anxious to obtain, you disregard my application to you. I am like one of those horses at the Olympic Games, which has acquired a celebrity for his master; but being ill treated, longs to escape."—Such would have been the remonstrance, if stated by a resolute hard bitten claimant. In the Poet's hands, it assumes a more poetical and delicate form, expatiating on the more graceful parts, and suppressing the undignified, he still leaves the solid logical substance distinctly discernible, under the texture with which he has invested it.

LI.

You soar aloft, and over land and wave
Are born triumphant on the wings I gave,
(The swift and mighty wings, Music and Verse.)
Your name in easy numbers smooth and terse,
Is wafted o'er the world; and heard among
At banquetings and feasts, chaunted and sung,
Heard and admir'd: The modulated air
Of flutes and voices of the young and fair
Recite it; and to future times shall tell:
When clos'd within the dark sepulchral Cell,
Your form shall moulder; and your empty ghost
Wander along the dreary Stygian coast—
  Yet shall your memory flourish fresh and young,
Recorded and reviv'd on every tongue;
In Continents and Islands; every place
That owns the language of the Grecian race!
  No purchas'd prowess of a racing steed,
But the triumphant muse, with airy speed
Shall bear it wide and far, o'er land and main,
A glorious and unperishable strain;
A mighty prize, gratuitously won,
Fix'd as the Earth, immortal as the Sun!
  But for all this no kindness in return!
No token of attention or concern!
Baffled and scorn'd, you treat me like a child,
From day to day, with empty words beguil'd.
Remember! common justice, common sense
Are the best blessings which the Gods dispense:
And each man has his object; all aspire
To something which they covet and desire.

Like a fair courser, conqueror in the race;
Bound to a charioteer, sordid and base;
I feel it with disdain; and many a day,
Have long'd to break the curb, and burst away.

To be celebrated by an eminent Poet, or to obtain the victory at the Olympic Games, were the only two means by which an individual belonging to one of the numberless petty States and Colonies of Greece (not being himself a poet) could aspire to that universal celebrity among his countrymen, which was the common object of ambition among all the more gifted individuals of the race.—Hence arose a singular, and to modern imaginations, an unaccountable association of ideas: Muses and Horses! we have seen it in the preceding fragment; and it is to be met with in Pindar; among other instances, in that fragment preserved by the humorous quotation of Aristophanes, where the begging poet comes with a ready made inaugural ode, which he pretends to have composed expressly on the occasion of the foundation of the famous city of Nephelococcugia Peisthetairus, the projector and acting manager of the concern, expresses his surprise and doubt—

Peis "That's strange! when I'm just sacrificing here,
"For the first time; to give the town a name.

To which, the Bard replies, in the phrase of Pindar

"Intimations, swift as air,
"To the Muse's ear are carried;
"Swifter than the speed and force
"Of the fiery-footed horse,
"Hence, the tidings never tarried.

We shall see in another fragment (XCIX.) that as Theognis, in this instance (where he speaks of the celebrity conferred by poetry) has tacitly so contrasted it with an Olympic victory; so he will be found, stating his own

claim to indulgence and consideration from his fellow citizens; under cover of the parallel case of a Conqueror at the games. In either case, the success of the victorious competitor or the applauded poet, would have reflected honor on his native state; and we shall see, that what the poet will affirm of the one, he will leave to be inferred of the other; namely that neither of them without a sacrifice of money, would have been able to obtain that indulgence which according to the feelings and opinions of the time, ought in such cases to have been extended to them honorably and gratuitously.

We now come to the period of the Poet's misfortunes, beginning with the loss of his property;—indeed the two last fragments are in all probability subsequent to it.—Respecting the cause of this disaster, it is not easy to form a conjecture founded upon assumptions deducible from one passage, which is not liable to be overset by comparing it with others. A very unintelligible line, which (probably from the omission of an intervening couplet) has little relation to the preceding verse, seems to mark his misfortunes, as some how connected with a sea voyage: yet, notwithstanding the known propensity of the Greeks to trade and navigation, it seems difficult to conceive Theognis in the character of a Merchant adventurer. Allowing however, that what was true of Solon, (a poet also, and a Politician) might be equally true of Theognis, we find on the other hand, that he speaks of his ruin, not as the result of any casual mischance, but as the work of enemies, upon whom he hopes and prays to be revenged. But, does not this sea voyage allude to his emigration by sea, after which, his property would have been confiscated? No! according to all appearances, he escaped by land; and his first place of refuge seems to have been Eubœa, separate only from the main land by a very narrow channel; and it will be seen from the fragments which follow, that he must have remained at Megara some time after being reduced to comparative poverty. We might have no difficulty in supposing, that in times of violent faction; the party opposed to Kurnus, if they forbore to make a direct attack upon him, might (like the party opposed to Pericles in their attacks upon Aspasia, Anaxagoras and Phidias) seek to discredit him, by ruining a person known to be attached to him: but there are no indications of this, in the passages where we should expect to find them.

If, from any other source, we could obtain a knowledge of Theognis' life and history, we might be able to account for some singularities: one of which, (his familiarity with the language of the Assay Office) has been already pointed out, in the note to Fragment XLVII, but there is another, not a little remarkable; namely, his strong objections and remonstrance against the rule of providence, by which the sins of the father were visited upon his descendants!—Can we suppose, that he is remonstrating with respect to his own case? that, as we have seen in Frag. XII. that judicial iniquity was the most crying grievance of the State; so (as was the case in Rome, after the death of Sylla) it might have been among the first remedied; and in a similar manner; namely, by transferring the judicature, to another order of citizens: a measure which might give rise to a course of equal partiality in an opposite direction. Such a supposition would afford the best explanation of the state of alarm and confusion, short of actual violence, which filled the period antecedent to the Poet's emigration. Can we suppose, that while things were in this state, an old family law suit, (arising out of commercial matters, and unjustly decided in favor of his father or ancestor), had been revived under this new tribunal; and that the sentence so ruinous to his fortune, was at the same time so arbitrary and excessive, as to excite the resentment and eagerness for revenge, which he expresses elsewhere?

The following lines, (Fragment LII.) might seem to relate to some confidential deposit; which perhaps in expectation of an unfavorable decision, he would have set apart as a contingent resource; but which was either treacherously detained or surrendered to his adversary.

Since writing the above, the following lines, which had not been noticed before, have appeared to bear a meaning referable to the suppositions above stated.

> Where on the father's and the mother's side
> Justice is found, no treasure you can hide,
> Is a resource more certain to abide.

They certainly have the appearance of a general maxim, assumed for the sake of a particular application, and are such as might well have been

written by a person who conceived himself suffering under a retribution for the injustice of his predecessors; and whose mind was occupied at the same time, with the notion of providing some concealed resource, as a security against misfortune. The association of ideas is so singular, that some such supposition seems necessary to account for it.

The result of his precaution appears as follows.

LII.

Bad faith hath ruined me; distrust alone
Has sav'd a remnant; all the rest is gone
To ruin and the dogs!*— The powers divine,
I murmur not against them, nor repine:
—Mere human violence, rapine and stealth
Have brought me down to poverty, from wealth,

* Sic in Orig. —ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθορᾷ

The following is a soliloquy, in which he is endeavouring to bring his mind into a more composed state.

LIII.

Learn patience, O my soul! though rack'd and torn
With deep distress — Bear it! — it must be borne!
Your unavailing hopes and vain regret,
Forget them, or endeavour to forget:
Those womanish repinings, unrepress'd,
(Which gratify your foes,) serve to molest
Your sympathising friends — Learn to endure!
And bear calamities you cannot cure!
Nor hope to change the laws of Destiny,
By mortal efforts! — Vainly would you fly
To the remotest margin of the sky,

Where Ocean meets the firmament; in vain
Would you descend beneath, and dive amain,
Down to the dreary subterraneous reign.

The following lines in a more composed and manly strain, seem to belong to the same period.

LIV.

Entire and perfect happiness is never
Vouchsaf'd to man; but nobler minds endeavour
To keep their inward sorrows unreveal'd.
With meaner spirits, nothing is conceal'd:
Weak, and unable to conform to fortune;
With rude rejoicing or complaint importune,
They vent their exultation or distress.
Whate'er betides us, grief or happiness,
The brave and wise, will bear with steady mind,
Th' allotment unforeseen and undefin'd,
Of good or evil, which the Gods bestow,
Promiscuously dealt to man below.

What has been said a little while ago, of Theognis' remonstrances against the rules of Providence, requires to be illustrated; and the illustration may not improperly be placed here, as it is by no means improbable, that the verses might have been composed about this time.

LV.

O mighty Jove! I wish the Powers of Heaven
Would change their method! that a rule were given
Hence forward, for the wicked and profane,
To check their high presumption, and restrain

Their insolences and their cruelties:
Who mock your ordinances, and despise
Justice and right: — Henceforth, should every man
In his own instance, justify the plan
Of Providence; and suffer for his Crime
During his Life; or at the very time,
With punishment inflicted on the spot:
For now, so long retarded or forgot,
The retribution ultimately falls
Wide of the mark — the vilest Criminals
Escape uninjur'd; and the sad decree
Affects their innocent posterity,
(As oftentimes it happens) worthy men
Blameless and inoffensive — Here again
The case is hard! where a good citizen,
A person of an honorable mind,
Religiously devout, faithful and kind,
Is doom'd to pay the lamentable score
Of guilt accumulated long before.—
— Some wicked Ancestor's unholy deed.
— I wish that it were otherwise decreed!
For now, we witness wealth and power enjoy'd
By wicked doers; and the good destroy'd
Quite undeservedly; doom'd to atone
In other times, for actions not their own.

The same notion of a posthumous hereditary retribution overtaking the descendants of wicked men, appears in another fragment, but without that tone of querulous expostulation, which marks the preceding and other fragments.

LVI.

Lawful and honest gain, the gift of Heaven,
Is lasting; and abides where it is given.
But where a man by perjury or by wrong,
Rises in riches; though secure and strong
In common estimation (though he deem
Himself a happy man, aud so may seem)
Yet the just sentence on his wicked gains,
Already stands recorded, and remains
For execution — Hence, we judge amiss;
And the true cause of our mistake in this:
The Punishment ordain'd by Heaven's decree
Attaches to the Sin, but (as we see
In many cases) leaves the Sinner free —
— Death follows, and is faster in his rate,
While Vengeance travels slowly; speedy Fate
Arrests the offender at a shorter date.

The same tone of querulousness which was before noticed and the same singular style of respectful, but confident and familiar expostulation with the Deity; which the reader will have observed in a preceding fragment, is marked in another, which is placed here; though in the order of time, it should seem to be contemporary with Frag. LXXVIII and LXXIX

LVII.

Blessed, almighty Jove! with deep amaze,
I view the world; — and marvel at thy ways!
All our devices, every subtle plan,
Each secret act, and all the thoughts of man,
Your boundless intellect can comprehend!
—On your award our destinies depend.

How can you reconcile it to your sense
Of right and wrong, thus loosely to dispense
Your bounties, on the wicked and the good?
How can your laws be known or understood?
When we behold a man faithful and just,
Humbly devout, true to his word and trust,
Dejected and oppress'd: — whilst the profane,
And wicked, and unjust, in glory reign;
Proudly, triumphant, flush'd with power and gain
What inference can human reason draw?
How can we guess the secret of thy law;
Or choose the path approv'd by power divine?!
—We take, alas, perforce the crooked line,
And act unwillingly the baser part,
Though loving truth and justice at our heart;
For very need, reluctantly compell'd
To falsify the principles we held;
With party factions, basely to comply;
To flatter, and dissemble and to lie!
Yet He — the truly brave — tried by the test
Of sharp misfortune; is approv'd the best:
While the soul-searching power of indigence
Confounds the weak, and banishes pretence.
Fixt in an honorable purpose still,
The brave preserve the same unconquer'd will
Indifferent to fortune, good or ill.

The misery of the heathen world is singularly manifest in the preceding lines; they were unable to find in their national belief, any sanction even for those imperfect notions of right and wrong, which natural reason suggested to them; and the concluding passage shews, that the better and nobler

minds among them, framed to themselves a rule of conduct, more elevated than that which their religion authorized. Their mode of piety, consisting in patient submission to the dispensations of an irrestible and inexplicable destiny, is exemplified in the lines which follow.

LVIII.

Kurnus, believe it! Fortune, good or ill
No mortal effort, intellect or skill
Determine it, but heaven's superior will:
We struggle onward, ignorant and blind,
For a result, unknown and undesign'd,
Avoiding seeming ills, misunderstood,
Embracing evil as a seeming good:
In our own plans, unable to detect
Their final unavoidable effect.
Tormented with unsatisfied desire,
The fortunate, to further aims aspire,
Beyond the bounds of mortal happiness;
Restless and wretched in their own success!
We strive like children, and the almighty plan
Controls the froward, weak Children of Man!

We may now return from his metaphysical and moral speculations, to a view of the Poet's personal situation; it is described in a few lines of welcome to a friend connected with him by those relations of hospitality, which were most carefully mantained by the first families of Greece, as a resource against utter destitution, in the event of any of those sudden reverses of fortune, to which, from the unsettled condition of their governments, they were so frequently exposed. — Clearistus, being ruined or distressed at home, comes by sea to Megara; probably on a trading voyage; but reckoning at the same time, on the hospitality of the poet, as his hereditary Ally.

LIX.

In a frail bark, across the seas you come,
Poor Clearistus, to my poorer home!
Yet, shall your needy vessel be supplied
With what the Gods' in clemency provide:
And if a friend be with you, bring him here!
With a fair welcome to my simple cheer.
I am not yet a niggard, nor by stealth
Dissemble the poor remnant of my wealth:
Still shall you find a hospitable board,
And share in common, what my means afford.
Then, should enquirers ask my present state,
You may reply,—my ruin has been great:
Yet, with my means reduc'd, a ruin'd man,
I live contented, on a humbler plan;
Unable now, to welcome every guest;
But greeting gladly and freely, though distress'd
Hereditary friends, of all the best.

A natural incident brings back to his mind, the recollection of his misfortunes—this fragment concludes with the obscure line beforementioned, relative to a sea voyage.

LX.

The yearly summons of the creaking Crane,
That warns the ploughman to his task again,
Strikes to my heart, a melancholy strain.
When all is lost, and my paternal lands
Are till'd for other lords, with other hands:
Since that disastrous wretched voyage brought
Riches and lands, and every thing to nought:

The following is an incident relative to another season of the year. Theognis' passion for singing to the music of the pipe, has been already noticed (Frag. II.) the scene of this fragment is in the market-place of Megara; and the lines represent the poet's sudden exclamation, at a sight which puts an end to the amusement in which he was indulging. The text is apparently mutilated, and (to the translator at least) hardly intelligible; he has endeavoured however to restore the original picture from the traces which are still distinguishable.

LXI.

How could I bear it?! In the public place
To chaunt and revel! When before my face,
Seen in the distance, I discern the train
Of harvest-triumph; and the loaded wain
And happy labourers with garlands crown'd,
Returning from the hereditary ground,
No more my own! My faithful Scythian slave!
Break off this strain of idle mirth; and shave
Your flowing locks; and breathe another tone
Of sorrow for my fair possessions gone!

Independent of the unbecoming contrast between the levity of his amusements, and the serious nature of his misfortunes; the reflection could not but occur to the mind of the poet, that he was now arrived at a time of life, when the privileges and pretensions of early youth could no longer be pleaded in justification of similar frolics.—In minds of a poetic temperament, the spirit of childhood and early youth remains commonly unabated to a much longer period than among the generality of mankind; and those successive gradations of gravity, which maturer years require (and which their co-evals assume naturally and unconsciously) are often felt as oppressive restraints, by minds so constituted.—Hence, in such cases, we see the same individuals censured for untimely levity in their latter years; as they had

been before, for premature seriousness. Theognis, in this respect at least, appears to have been eminently a poet. His feelings of melancholy foresight were contemporary with the composition of his licentious poetry; and among other considerations, this probably may have been one, which induced him to suppress for the time, those verses, which a more serious spirit had inspired.—He was unwilling to betray to the world, such incongruities of thought and feeling, subsisting at the same time, in the same mind. The same incongruity is visible in a comparison between the last fragment, and those already given; Nrs. LIII, LIV, and LV.

Omitting these considerations however; and considering him merely as a man of wit and pleasure about town—the town of Megara—the period of life to which he had arrived, was a melancholy one; already on the wrong side of five and thirty, and having immediately before him, the prospect of lapsing into the deplorable and irretrievable condition of a decayed dandy or *cidevant jeune homme!*—This is the first shock which we receive from the hand of time. The second will be found differently characterized, in verses composed at the age of 54.—It was then no longer the departure of youth, and prospect of age, but the slow and distant approach of death, which was become, for the first time, a torment to his imagination. It will appear singular, that in verses composed probably not many months after those last mentioned, he will still be found speaking of old age, as a future evil, of which he deprecates the approach—but so it is;

Compare Frag. CII. with CV.

"Ask, where's the north? In York, 'tis at the Tweed;
"In Scotland, at the Orcades; and there,
"At Zembla, Greenland, and the Lord knows where."

In like manner, old age is always a relative period, a little in advance of that to which we have already arrived. The fragment here given, and the somewhat tedious argument with which it is accompanied, might have been omitted; if the writer had not thought it his duty, for the satisfaction of others, to give a solution of the apparent contradictions, by which his own research had been at one time perplexed.

LXII.

Elate with wine, my losses I despise,
And rude attacks of railing enemies.
But youth departing, and remember'd years
Of early mirth and joy, move me to tears;
While, in the dreary future, I behold
The dark approach of age, cherleess and cold.

It is evident, that these lines must have been written in the period which immediately preceded his banishment, when the ruin of his affairs was a recent event, and his adversaries animated against him. He was not yet in exile, for the ἄνδρες ἔχθροὶ *his railing enemies* must have been his fellow citizens of the opposite faction; not strangers among whom he was casually resident. Moreover, to lament the departure of his youth, would have been absurd and impertinent in an Exile, subject to so many evils of a much more serious nature.* An older Poet had said

"A wanderer of this kind, neither enjoys the favor and popularity (ὥρη) which accompanies youth, nor the respect and reverence (αἰδώς) which is attendant upon old age."—It is equally impossible to assign them to the period after his return; for which he was indebted to the indulgence of the faction, to which those very ἐχθροὶ, who were now abusing him, belonged; and when he himself was devoted to a passive literary existence.

The melancholy thoughts which in the spirit of a true Greek, he was endeavouring to dissipate (as has been seen in the two last fragments) with wine and music; but which were apt to return upon him, thus suddenly and unawares; seem to have been revived by the arrival of Simonides. I say revived, for the lines addressed to him, are put (I think properly) the last in the order of this series: the political complaints and forebodings contained in them, indicating that the revolution was very far advanced: Kurnus' administration being already at an end; and every thing in the utmost confusion. These lines therefore, may be reckoned as among the very last which were written

* Tyrtæus

at Megara, before his expatriation. His feelings upon Simonides' arrival, might be supposed to have been aggravated by the comparative change which had taken place in their circumstances, for at the time, to which we are now arrived; Theognis was ruined, and Simonides (whose attachment to the main chance was proverbial,) was probably by this time a rich man; for he appears to be giving an entertainment to which Theognis was invited.

It is not unlikely that this visit of Simonides (to Athens probably in the first place, but as in former instances, extended to Megara) may be the same, which is mentioned as having left a singular mark of meanness upon his character; when revisiting Athens, after the expulsion of Hippias, he engaged to compose a panegyrical poem, in honor of the assassins of his old friend and benefactor Hipparchus. Arriving at Megara, the same man would undoubtedly pay his court to the faction then in power in that city; but he could not omit sending an invitation to Theognis. And what sort of invitation would such a man, under such cirsumstances, have contrived to send? something, it may be supposed to this effect.—"*The company and conversation to be wholly literary*" &c. &c. "*persons of distinguished talents, all anxious for an opportunity*" &c. &c. "*a person so eminent for his genius and acquirements.*" Now the lines of Theognis are (as we shall see) an answer, distinctly replying to, and declining an invitation of this description. "The sense of his own misfortunes and the distracted state of public affairs, had rendered him unfit for company and incapable of joining in any literary conversation."—It may remind us of Swift, after the fall of his friends, replying in bitterness, to the flummery literary letter of Pope, whom he suspected of being upon too good terms with the Whigs.

The last line serves to shew, that among the "literati" whose company he had been expected to join, and to whom his poetical excuses would be communicated, he would have had a chance of meeting persons disagreeable to him (κακοι in political language) persons of the opposite party.

What has been observed above, may serve to shew that the tone of extreme dejection and prostration of spirit, which is exibited in the following lines, might at the time have appeared genuine and unaffected; yet we shall see that there is good reason to suppose that it must have been either assumed altogether or intentionally exaggerated; we shall find that the Poet

must have been, at this very period, engaged in some enterprize of a very dangerous nature; such a description of himself, therefore, if communicated to his opponents (as he calculated that it would be) would excite no suspicion; and might serve perhaps to counteract any which already existed.

The answer to Simonides's "very obliging invitation" is as follows.

LXIII.

Simonides! If with my learning's store,
I still retain'd my riches as before,
I should not shrink from joining as a guest,
In converse with the wisest and the best.
But now, with idle shame opprest and weak,
I sit dejected, and forbear to speak:
Feeble, forgetful, melancholy, slow
My former pride of learning, I forego,
My former knowledge, I no longer know.
Such is our state! in a tempestuous sea,
With all the crew raging in mutiny!
No duty follow'd, none to reef a sail,
To work the vessel, or to pump or bale;
All is abandon'd and without a check,
The mighty sea comes sweeping o'er the deck
Our Steersman,* hitherto so bold and steady,
Active and able, is deposed already.
No discipline, no sense of order felt;
The daily messes are unduly dealt.
The goods are plunder'd, those that ought to keep
Strict watch, are idly skulking or asleep;
All that is left of order or command,
Committed wholly to the basest hand.

* Kurnus

In such a case, my friend! I needs must think,
It were no marvel, though the Vessel sink.
This riddle, to my worthy friends I tell,
But a shrewd knave will understand it well.

This long simile of a ship, is not original in Theognis, it was to be found in an ode of Alcæus, an older poet; from whom, Horace has copied it. Theognis, probably made use of figurative language, in order to avoid giving the κακοι of the company an opportunity of quoting expressions, which if more intelligible and direct, would have been more likely to compromise him as a disaffected person.—We shall see the same apprehension expressed elsewhere Frag: LXIX.

The last fragment has already anticipated the greater part of what can be learnt from the few remaining fragments relative to the revolution; the deposition of Kurnus; the low character of his successor; and the general confusion and disorder of the community.

No lines can be found, of which it can be decidedly said, that they relate to Kurnus's appointment to the highest authority of the State. The following will probably be thought (as they appear) too feeble, and not sufficiently pointed, for such an occasion; if addressed to Kurnus at all (for his name does not occur in the original) they may have related to some earlier and inferior object of ambition.

LXIV.

Schemes unadvisable and out of reason,
Are best adjourn'd — wait for a proper season!
Time and a fair conjuncture govern all.
Hasty ambition hurries to a fall;
A fall predestin'd and ordain'd by heaven:
By a judicial blindness madly driven,
Mistaking and confounding good and evil,
Men lose their senses, as they leave their level.

If the conjecture was right, which assigned the two fragments L, and LI. to the period of Kurnus' elevation, they would account sufficiently, for the non-appearance of any admonitory or political lines directly referring to it. If again, (as is probable,) a reconciliation took place after his deposition; the next lines may have been intended to obviate the influence of rash or treacherous advisers, upon a proud spirit recently mortified by the loss of power.

LXV.

Stir not a step! risk nothing! but believe
That vows and oaths are snares, meant to deceive!
Jove is no warrant for a promise given,
Not Jove himself, nor all the Gods in heaven.
Nothing is safe; no character secure,
No conduct, the most innocent and pure:
All are corrupt, the Commons and the Great,
Alike incapable to save the state.
The ruin of the noblest and the best
Serves for an idle ballad or a jest.
Shame is abolish'd, and in high command,
Rage, Impudence and Rapine rule the land.

It should seem, that Kurnus was now disposed to follow the advice which his friend had before given him, respecting the choice of followers and adherents; see Frag: XXXII-III-IV. Theognis thinks such a party could not be formed of assured fidelity, and in sufficient force for the purposes which were in contemplation.

LXVI.

A trusty Partizan, faithful and bold
Is worth his weight in silver or in gold,
For times of trouble.—But the race is rare;
Steady determin'd men, ready to share
Good or ill fortune! — Such, if such there are,
Could you survey the World, and search it round,
And bring together all that could be found;
The largest company, you could enrol;
A single Vessel would embark the whole!
—So few there are! the noble manly minds
Faithful and firm, the men that honor binds;
Impregnable to danger and to pain,
And low seduction in the shape of gain.

The next fragment serves to mark more distinctly, that Kurnus was no longer in office; it is an ironical exhortation to his successor, the Chief of the opposite party; who it should seem, was ruling away with a vengeance!

LXVII.

Lash your obedient rabble! lash and load
The burden on their backs! Spurn them and goad!
They'll bear it all; by practice and by birth,
The most submissive humble slaves on earth!

Another fragment seems to have been addressed to some person possessed at one time of influence, which he had misemployed; and whom the progress of the Revolution had reduced to insignificance!

LXVIII.

Friend! if your sense and judgement had been wholly,
Or nearly equal to your pride and folly;
You might have seen yourself approv'd and priz'd,
As much precisely, as you're now despis'd.

But the time was come, when it was no longer safe to speak so openly —the Time probably, of the visit of Simonides—see the concluding note subjoined to the verses addressed to him. Frag: LXIII.

LXIX.

Scarce can I venture plainly to declare
Our present state, or what the dangers are.—
—Let the worst happen! I shall bear, I trust,
Whatever fate determines—bear we must!
Inextricable difficulties rise,
And death and danger are before our eyes.

We now find Theognis no longer averse to the desperate measures suited to a desperate situation—but still, as before, distrustful of the firmness and fidelity of the majority of the persons upon whom his friend relied.

LXX.

From many a friend, you must withhold your plans!
No man is safe with many partizans,
No secret!—With a party sure, but small,
Of bold adherents, trusty men withal;
You may succeed: else ruin must ensue,
Inevitable, for your friends and you.

This advice seems to have been followed: for we now come to a passage of singular interest.—The Speech of Theognis, at a secret meeting of Kurnus's party friends. The exordium and the conclusion of this speech are found in separate fragments; but the character of each is clearly marked. The exordium addresses Kurnus in the presence of his assembled partizans, on the necessity of efficacious remedies for the maladies of the State. It is evidently, the prelude to a speech addressed to a Council of Conspirators; and the conclusion is marked by a conspirator's oath (a very curious and remarkable one) by which he binds himself to the assistance of his comrades, and to the execution of utter vengeance upon his enemies. Some other fragments which are found separate, and which are not likely to have been composed at any other time, by a man who had hitherto been averse to all violent and hazardous measures, are arranged in the only order which can be assigned to them.

LXXI.

Kurnus! since here we meet friends and allies;
We must consult in common, to devise
A speedy remedy with brief debate,
To meet the new disorders of the State.
More practise is requir'd, and deeper skill
To cure a patient, than to make him ill.
The wise, in easy times will gladly rest;
When things are at the worst, a change is best.

* * * * * *

Kurnus! in power and honor, heretofore,
Your former fortunes, you discreetly bore.
Fortune has alter'd! bear it calmly still!
Endeavouring, with a firm and steady will,
With other changes, our affairs to mend,
With a bold effort, and with heaven to friend.

* * * * * *

If Kurnus (our support,) has been displac'd,
Our main defence, dismantled and defac'd;
Must we, like cowards, of all hope forsaken,
Lament and howl as if the town were taken?
Though now reduc'd, no more a numerous host,
Courage and Sense and Honor are our boast.
Danger and Hope are over-ruling powers
Of equal influence; and both are ours!
Where counsel and deliberation fail
Action and strenuous effort may prevail.

* * * * * *

My spirit, they shall never bend nor check,
Though mountain heaps were loaded on my neck:
Let feeble coward souls crouch with affright,
The brave are ever firm; firm and upright.

* * * * * *

Then let the brazen fiery vault of heaven
Crush me with instant ruin, rent and riven!
(The fear and horror of a former age)
If, from the friends and comrades that engage
In common enterprize, I shrink or spare
Myself or any soul! If I forbear
Full vengeance and requital on my foes!
All our antagonists! all that oppose!

Whether this conspiracy succeded to the extent of obtaining a temporary superiority within the town, or whether it was baffled by their opponents; or abandoned in despair by the party who projected it, we have no means of forming any conjecture: In any one of these cases, the incident which appears next in order might equally have taken place.

The March of an armed force from some neighbouring State (whose politics were opposed to those of the party of Kurnus and Theognis) is indicated by a fire signal, and determines them to abandon their country and escape without delay.

LXXII.

A speechless messenger, the Beacon's light
Announces danger from the Mountain's height!
Bridle your horses, and prepare to fly!
The final crisis of our fate is nigh!
A momentary pause, a narrow space
Detains them; but the foes approach apace!
— We must abide what fortune has decreed,
And hope that heaven will help us at our need.
Make your resolve! at home your means are great;
Abroad, you will retain a poor estate.
Unostentations, indigent and scant,
Yet live secure, at least from utter want.

In addition to the local and other relations between Corinth and Megara whoever examines the political character of Corinth at this time, and remarks the evident bias of that government in favor of the Democratic party at Athens, will feel no hesitation in concluding, that they must have been equally disposed to protect a party of similar principles, in their own immediate neighbourhood; and that the armed force above mentioned, must have been dispatched from Corinth. This conclusion will be confirmed by the next fragment. Of the other two powerful neighbouring States, Thebes was of opposite politics, hostile in the extreme to the Athenian revolution; and (as we shall see afterwards) became a place of refuge for the Megarian exiles: Athens, an Ionian State, would not at that period, have presumed to interpose in the internal disputes of a Doric city; and least of all, at that particular

crisis, when with the whole weight of the Doric confederacy opposed to her, under the ascendency of Sparta, and directed by the ability and inveteracy of Cleomenes, she was reduced to the then unheard of expedient, of soliciting assistance from the King of Persia; and her envoys arriving at Sardis, (though blamed for it afterwards when the danger was over; yet at the time, upon deliberate consultation) consented to perform the required homage, by presenting Earth and Water to the great King. Placed in such a precarious situation, it would have been an act of madness on the part of the Athenians, to have risked an offensive proceeding, which could have added nothing to their military security; which would have disgusted Corinth; and which at any rate would have prevented the success of those intrigues, by which the Corinthians (themselves nominally and formally members of the Confederacy) succeeded in disbanding the combined army, at a time when it was already advanced into the plain of Eleusis, and on the eve of a battle, likely to have been the most bloodily decided, of any that ever occurred in the internal wars of Greece. Availing themselves of the dissolution of the main army, the Athenians lost no time in advancing against the Thebans and Chalcideans; who in the meanwhile, had been making inroads upon the points bordering upon their own territory; encountering them severally in rapid succession, they overthrew the Thebans, and immediately (the historian says on the same day) passing over into Eubæa, attacked and defeated the Chalcideans, seizing upon the territory, and expelling the proprietors.

It should seem, that Theognis, in escaping from Megara, had taken up his residence in Eubæa, where the politics of the leading party, were congenial to his own. Upon this occasion then, he was a witness of the calamity which overwhelmed his friends and hospitable partizans.—The following lines are descriptive of what occurried. — Chalcis would have been very unlike any other City or State of Greece, if it had not contained a depressed party (in this instance, the Democratic party) eager to enjoy the exercise of power upon any conditions, and to consider the public distresses, as an opportunity for party triumph. From what has been observed, it will be seen how justly the Poet's malediction in the concluding line, is bestowed upon the Corinthians.

LXXIII.

Alas, for our disgrace! Cerinthus lost!
The fair Lelantian plain! a plundering host
Invade it — all the brave banish'd or fled!
Within the town, lewd ruffians in their stead
Rule it at random.— Such is our disgrace!
May Jove confound the Cypselizing race!

The term of the "Cypselizing race" could not possibly apply to any other people than the Corinthians; but it may be a question, upon what grounds, and with what particular intention, the term is applied to them in this instance? Cypselus was entirely out of date; his son Periander, who succeeded him as Tyrant of Corinth, had died after a long reign, in the last year of the 48th. Olympiad (see Fasti Hellenici) having in his old age, and as one of his last acts of Sovereignty, sent three hundred boys of the best families in Corcyra, as a present to Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, to be manufactured into Eunuchs. Why then, should Cypselus be mentioned? the memory of his tyranny being in point of time obsolete; and in point of atrocity, effaced by that of his son; after whose death, a free government had been established; which had continued, as it appears without interruption from that time. But Cypselus was the first underminer and destroyer of the Dorian Aristocracy; having supplanted the Oligarchy of the Bacchiadæ, he had continued banishing and destroying without intermission during the whole of his life; and his son (after the usual interval of milder government in a new reign) had resumed his father's policy, and pushed it indiscriminately to a more severe extreme.

But the system had originated with Cypselus; He began as a democratic leader, attacking and overturning an exclusive oligarchy, and afterwards individually destroying and extinguishing them. This, we may suppose, he had pretty well accomplished during the course of his reign; and that the momentary pause of tyranny, at the succession of his son, must have been

connected with the consideration; that the old opponents of the father's party, had been annihilated; and a consequent notion in his mind, that it might not be impossible for him, to maintain himself in the sovereignty, with a mild administration, as the chief of the triumphant party; like a kind of Lorenzo de Medici.

This scheme of policy, entertained at the outset by Periander, and finally abandoned for one directly opposite, seems to be the point which lies at the bottom of the story, of the advice required from his more ancient and experienced fellow-tyrant Thrasybulus; and of the enigmatic speechless answer, which he received; in consenquence of which, he determined to destroy every thing which had *grown* above the common *level*—the adherents of his father or their representatives, the opponents of the former exlusive caste and unconnected with it; but who could boast of illustrious descent in another line; derived perhaps, like his own, from the race of the Lapithæ; every thing in short, which by birth, abilities, wealth or distinction of any kind, was capable of giving umbrage.—But the effect of such a tyranny when exercised for such a length of time, would be manifest in a continuance of the same policy, surviving the overthrow of the government in which it had originated; for the chief persons of Corinth, at the time when it was released from this long course of oppression, must have belonged to families, who from their very obscurity and insignificance, had escaped destruction. Such persons therefore, and their successors administering the affairs of the State, would not in their external relations, be disposed to favor an Aristocracy of Caste; indeed their own traditions were very unfavorable to it—the memory of the government of the Doric Aristocracy of the Bacchiadæ, having remained little less odious than that of Periander himself.

The policy therefore of Corinth, at this time baffling the designs of Sparta, which were directed to the maintenance of the established Aristocracies, might not be improperly called the policy of Cypselus; the drift of his tyranny, having been carried on as the champion of the subject classes, in opposition to the Doric Aristocracy; while that of Periander, was indiscriminate and unsparing, wholly selfish and unsupported by any pretence of party motive. Cypselus, at least as compared with his son, might be considered as a "Glorious deliverer;" and a good steady partizan might have contended,

that his measures were justifiable upon principle; allowing at the same time, that "they had been carried a little too far" like those of the "Glorious Henry VIII." whose memory, it is to be observed, remained popular for a length of time after his death. As to his usurpation; that is a point, which no true partizan is ever found fastidious enough to impute as a delinquency to the leader of his own party.—Socicles the Corinthian indeed, in a speech delivered at Sparta, in presence of a general convention of the Doric States, describes Cypselus as a bloody tyrant, though greatly surpassed in tyranny by his son; but it must be remembered, that Socicles is arguing generally against arbitrary power in the hands of a single individual; in opposition to the proposal brought forward by the Spartans; who, on discovering that in deposing Hippias, they had been the dupes of a suborned oracle, were determined to retrace their steps, and to reinstate him in the sovereignty, from which they had ejected him. Pleading therefore, in opposition to this project; it was the object of the Corinthian envoy, to place the memory of Cypselus in the most odious light; wholly without modification, and omitting all mention of any favorable recollection, which in the minds of the Corinthians themselves, might be attached to it. It might be very true, that in the estimation of his own countrymen, Cypselus might have the merit of having destroyed an Aristocracy of caste, similar in its origin and principles, to that which the Spartans exercised over the subject cities of Laconia; but such a statement would have been highly offensive, and in no way conducive to the success of his argument.—The Bacchiadæ, whom Cypselus had destroyed, had in fact been regarded by the Spartans, as a Kindred clan;—But, if considering the occasion which called for it, and the presence in which it was delivered, it is impossible to draw from the speech of Socicles, any clear conclusion with regard to the real feelings of the Corinthians towards the memory of their great Revolutionist; there are on the other hand, circumstances apparently trivial, but which serve to indicate that a favorable feeling must have predominated.—That the Oracle delivered to him, predicting the future fortunes of his family, and those by which his birth had been in two instances announced, as the predestined destroyer of the Bacchiadæ, and the "founder of equal law" should have been repeated and recorded; and that the very Chest in which when a child, he was said to have been concealed from the

pursuit of the Bacchiadæ, should have been kept as a relic and memorial, till it became ultimately interesting as an object of antiquity; are circumstances sufficiently indicative of a long surviving partiality for his memory. But surely, this argument must seem superfluous, to any man who merely reads the newspapers; the degrading articles from Paris,* which daily meet our eyes, may serve as a sufficient proof, that the most prodigal waste of human life, a most utter disregard of the sufferings of mankind; finally, a spirit and conduct, exhibiting the most perfect type of the tyrannic character, are in no respect disqualifications for posthumous popularity.

* The details of the *Translation* of the *Corpo Santo* of Bonaparte

Cypselus was a tyrant and an usurper, but the system of which he was the personification, was persevered in, after his death. The principle upon which his usurpation had been founded (a hatred of the hereditary oligarchies) still continued to influence the policy of Corinth, and manifested itself in their support of the democratic revolution of Athens and Megara. This was the point which Theognis (doubly a sufferer from the effects of this policy) meant to mark; and if this view of the subject is admissible, his intention in characterizing the Corinthians as a *Cypselizing race*, may be capable of explanation. It is to be feared, that no authority is likely to be found, for any shorter and more decided mode of interpreting the passage.

After so long a digression, it is fortunate, that we have to change the scene and the subject. Expelled from Eubæa, Theognis seems to have retired to Thebes, a state whose politics were congenial to his own; fellow sufferers also, like his friends in Eubæa, from the unexpected vigour of the Athenians, who up to that time, when they became animated (as Herodotus observes) by the new excitement of liberty; had never been accounted very formidable antagonists; while the Thebans, considering themselves, as they were, a superior race of men, distinguished by a peculiar system of tactics, and singular personal prowess in the field, upon which the success of their tactical system depended, were wholly unable to digest the disgrace of a defeat. It should seem, both from local situation, and the temper and spirit of the people, that Thebes must have been the scene of those projects and hopes which Theognis

and his friends, at one time entertained, of recovering possession of their native city, either by force or stratagem; and executing a severe vengeance upon their opponents.

But, we must first exhibit him in a familiar scene, a stranger among strangers; affording an instance of the unpleasant results arising from that social defect, which Shakespear characterizes, as

> "Some humour, which too much o'erleavens
> "The form of plausive manners."

The story for the present, must be taken upon trust; the proofs and vouchers, being postponed; as they would be too tedious at the outset. The Thebans, we may suppose, did not depart from their usual character of hospitality, in the instance of the Megarian exiles; and it so happened, that in the house of a Theban nobleman, a favorite facetious female slave, Arguris by name, was admitted to enliven the party. The music of the pipes was introduced after dinner; this was a temptation, which Theognis could not resist, and which overset all the σεμνοτης (grave good breeding) befitting his condition as an exiled noble. He offered to accompany the music, and performed so well, as to excite general admiration and applause; and probably at the same time, to lower himself to a certain degree, in the estimation of the company; which Arguris perceiving (like a sarcastic little wretch as she was) joined in the general expression of admiration "It was very extraor-"dinary—very extraordinary indeed—the gentleman must have had a great "deal of practice—he must have practised very young—perhaps his mother "might have been a flute player" to which we may suppose the poet to have answered "No! that his acquirements were not so limited; that like all other persons of tolerable education in Megara, he had also learned to accompany himself upon the lyre" thereupon, the lyre being handed to him, he sung to it some extempore verses; acknowledging that passion for accompanying the music of the pipe, which had subjected him to so severe an insinuation; replying to it at the same time, by an assertion of the nobility of his birth, and a severe retaliation upon the condition and origin of the

person who had offended him. These lines, originally produced extempore, formed a short poem, of which the lines already given in illustration of his early pursuits (and which are here repeated, in what appears to be their proper place) would have been the conclusion, at least, as far as regarded the affront received, and the person who had offered it.

LXXIV.

My heart exults, the lively call obeying,
When the shrill merry pipes are sweetly playing;
With these, to chaunt aloud or to recite,
To carol and carouse, is my delight:
Or in a steadfast tone, bolder and higher,
To temper with a touch, the manly lyre.

* * * * *

The slavish visage never is erect;
But looks oblique, and language indirect
Betray their origin — no lovely rose
Or hyacinth, from the rude bramble grows;
Nor from a slavish and degraded breed,
Can gentle words, or courteous acts proceed.

* * * * *

From noble Æthon, my descent I trace,
Thebes grants me refuge and a resting place;
Forbear then Arguris, with empty mirth,
Yourself a slave, to scandalize my birth:
Woman! I tell thee, wandering and forlorn,
In exile and distress, much have I borne,
Sorrows and wrongs and evils manifold;
But, to be purchas'd as a slave and sold,
Has never been my fate, nor never will:
And I retain a town and country still,

Along the banks of the Lethæan river,
In a fair land, where I shall live for ever,
For a firm friend a steady partizan,
A faithful and an honorable man,
Disdaining every sordid act, and mean,
No slave am I, nor slavish have I been.

We must now proceed to justify the probability of the incident which has been above related. It is evident from the original, that the Poet is provoked to assert the nobility of his birth, in reply to some disparaging insinuation. —But how does he characterize this insinuation? Not according to the usual forms of the language, which in such case, would have described it as injurious to his family or his forefathers γενος και πατερας instead of either of these, the phrase which he actually makes use of, is τοκηας (*my parents*) a term quite unusual in discussing any question of descent. It seems difficult to account for this particular phrase; but one solution presents itself: namely, that as (without naming her) it evidently includes the poet's Mother, it might have been meant to refer to some sarcasm particularly directed against her; but here again, what could there have been in the manner and behaviour of Theognis, a well educated man, a stranger and a guest at the table of her master, which could suggest even to the most impertinent upper servant, the idea of any insinuation against the gentleman's Mother? Theognis' proficiency in accompanying the music of the pipe, and his passion for exhibiting it, (of which we have already seen an instance,) would furnish an answer to this difficulty. The pipe was commonly played by a Female Musician; and the occupation was by no means a reputable one.

Another circumstance may be mentioned as giving strengh to this conjecture; the existing text of Theognis is so strange a jumble, so evidently compiled without sense or order, that no stress can be laid upon the juxta position of passages, as inferring any connection between them (at least in the intention of the transcriber) but the consideration, that he might have

been led mechanically, to make various extracts at the same time, from the same portion of the original, which lay open before him; is not entirely to be overlooked. We have already seen an example of this, in the fragment which alludes to the fate of Hipparchus, and the others descriptive of his character, which are found in juxta position with lines evidently relating to his funeral In like manner, it will be found, that three of these fragments given above, stand in juxta position in the present text; and that the fourth is connected by its sense with two of the others, as they all three relate to some altercation with a slave; an incident which though it might have occurred to him again, was not likely to be made on any other occasion a theme for poetry.

At no great distance from two of the preceding, a fragment is found separated into two, in Brunck's edition; but which, though two or more intermediate lines may possibly be wanting, appear connected by the particle δὲ and by the infinitive form of the verb, which runs through both. These lines belong clearly to the same period as the preceding, when he was hospitably entertained at Thebes, and while he still cherished hopes of a triumphant return to Megara. Now, if we figure to ourselves the preceding scene, and do not suppose Theognis to be utterly destitute of civility and common sense, we may fairly take it for granted, that the extempore effusion, in which he retaliated the offence given by the slave, would not have terminated without some marked expression of respect and deference to the master of the house; who was wholly guiltless of the offence which had been given him. In the translation which follows, the fragment last mentioned is understood and interpreted in this sense.

LXXV.

To seize my lost possessions and bestow
Among my friends, the spoils of many a foe,
Such is my trust and hope; meanwhile I rest
Content and cheerful an admitted guest,

Conversing with a wise and worthy mind
Profound in learning, and in taste refin'd.
Watching his words and thoughts, to bear away
Improvement and instruction, day by day.

If we consider the world χρεὼν in its relation to σοφίην πᾶσαν we see, that the apparent maxim, is only one of those forms of speech, arising out of, and implying an instance actually present. "You ought always to take a glass "of good Burton ale with your cheese" is a maxim which whatever may be its value, is never heard except in cases where Ale of that description is actually at hand. Thus when Theognis says "One *ought* to be invited to a Feast, and "to sit in company with an excellent person possessed of *universal* knowledge" he is to be understood as saying, "I think it a good thing to be as I am at "present, invited and sitting at table in company with an excellent person of "universal knowledge."

The hopes and projects of an exile, briefly alluded to in the preceding fragment, are more distinctly marked, in a passage alluding to the story of Ulysses; he anticipates like him, a safe return from Hell (in his own case, the Hell of Banishment) and a similar triumphant reestablishment in his native country; with an equally full revenge upon his antagonists, and a joyful meeting with his Penelope, and his Telemachus, his wife and son; whom, it should seem, that he had left behind. The same allusion to his state of Banishment as a kind of Hell, will be found in another passage, (composed long after, under the influence of very different views and expectations) where the example which he takes as a parallel to his own, is that of Sisyphus.

LXXVI.

Talk not of evils past! Ulysses bore
Severer hardships than my own, and more;
Doom'd to descend to Pluto's dreary reign,
Yet, He return'd; and view'd his home again;
And wreak'd his vengeance on the plundering crew,
The factious haughty suitors, whom he slew:
Whilst all the while, with steady faith unfeign'd
The prudent, chaste Penelope remain'd,
With her fair son; waiting a future hour,
For his arrival and return to power.

The above allusion to the good conduct of his wife, is confirmed by lines addressed to Kurnus; who it should seem, was equally fortunate.

LXXVII.

Kurnus, of all good things in human life,
Nothing can equal goodness in a wife.
In our own case, we prove the proverb true;
You vouch for me, my friend! and I for you.

A mixture of hope and despondency accompained by a vehement passion for revenge are marked in the following lines; singular as they may appear, they are to the best of the translator's ability, a faithful representation of the style, tone and *phraseognomy* which mark the original: such in short, as the author would have written in English, if we could suppose the English language to have been employed in directing such strange addresses to the supreme Being. It must be observed however, that in the concluding lines, a proverb contracted from a simile, is expanded into the simile from which it originated, no equivalent proverb being to be found in the English language.

The word χαραδρα in the original, may perhaps have been intended to convey a local meaning: it signified a gully, the bed of a wintry torrent—a ravine of this kind called the Charadra, was one of the boundaries of the Megarian territory. Theognis therefore, may have meant to allude to the direction in which he had passed the frontier.

LXXVIII.

May Jove assist me to discharge the debt
Of kindness to my friends — and grant me yet
A further boon — revenge upon my foes!
With these accomplish'd — I could gladly close
My term of life — a fair requital made;
My friends rewarded, and my wrongs repaid
Gratitude and revenge, before I die,
Might make me deem'd almost a Deity! !
Yet hear, O mighty Jove, and grant my prayer,
Relieve me from affliction and despair!
O take my life, or grant me some redress,
Some foretaste of returning happiness!
Such is my state — I cannot yet descry
A chance of vengeance on mine enemy
The rude despoilers of my property.
Whilst I, like to a scar'd and hunted hound,
That scarce escaping, trembling and half drown'd,
Crosses a gulley swelled with wintry rain,
Have crept ashore, in feebleness and pain.
Yet my full wishes — to drink their very blood —
Some power divine, that watches for my good,
May yet accomplish — Soon may he fulfill
My righteous hope — my just and hearty will.

The pleasures of hope (the proverbial consolation of a banished man) are the subject of the next fragment.

LXXIX.

For human nature, Hope remains alone
Of all the Deities — the rest are flown.
Faith is departed; Truth and Honor dead;
And all the Graces too, my friends, are fled.
The scanty specimens of living worth,
Dwindled to nothing, and extinct on earth.
Yet, whilst I live and view the light of heaven,
(Since Hope remains, and never has been driven
From the distracted world) the single scope
Of my devotion, is to worship Hope:
When Hecatombs are slain, and Altars burn,
With all the Deities ador'd in turn;
Let Hope be present; and with Hope, my friend!
Let every sacrifice commence and end.
Yes! Insolence, Injustice, every crime,
Rapine and wrong may prosper for a time;
Yet shall they travel on to swift decay,
That tread the crooked path and hollow way.

The fourth line is characteristic; the victim of a popular revolution lamenting that Democracy had destroyed the Graces: like the Commandeur in that admirable Proverbe of Monsr. Le Clercq's — Les Soupers.

With an expatriated party, the disappointment of their hopes, is usually fatal to that spirit of cordiality, which had originated in a feeling of common interest. It is then, that each individual, as the object of their union appears unattainable, begins to confine his views to his own personal interests; and a tone of selfishness and querulous recrimination succeeds to that spirit of good

humor and good fellowship; which as long as they are not wholly destitute of hope, is frequently characteristic of a defeated party.

It should seem that the hopes entertained by the Poet and the emigrant party to which he belonged, were never realized; and that (as was naturally to be expected) a spirit of impatience and discontent must have begun to be prevalent amongst them. The following lines seem to belong to this period, and to be descriptive of the altered temper of his associates in misfortune.

LXXX.

I search among my friends — none can I find,
No sterling unadulterated mind;
None that abides the crucible like mine;
Rising above the standard — superfine!

In these lines the sense which is assigned to the word ὑπερτερίη (above the standard) is assumed from the context: the lexicons do not give it; nor is it to be expected, that lexicographers should find in ancient authors, the technical terms of the assay office; but we have seen already, that it was an object familiar to the mind of the poet.*

* see Frag. VI, XXXIV.

Theognis, it should seem, must have been among the poorest of the party; having escaped from Megara πάντ' ἀποσεισάμενος "stript of every thing" a circumstance necessarily omitted in the translation of Frag. LXXVIII as it would have appeared somewhat absurd, if combined with the simile of the Dog. The following lines seem to have been occasioned by the illiberality of some of his companions who were less destitute than himself.

LXXXI.

An Exile has no friends! no partizan
Is firm or faithful to the banished man;
A disappointment and a punishment,
Harder to bear, and worse than banishment!

The reader is here requested to turn back to the fragment marked LVII beginning "Blessed Almighty Jove" (which from the singularity of its tone had been placed in juxta position with others of a like character) He will probably be of opinion, that in chronological order, it ought to stand here, as it marks a time, when the notion of abandoning his party, and endeavouring to conciliate the victorious faction (though not admitted or approved) has distinctly presented itself to his mind.

The next fragment marks his resolution upon this subject, as already taken. In consequence of the neglect of his associates, he declares his intention of negotiating for himself, and endeavouring to conciliate the faction by which he had been expelled.

LXXXII.

The last and worst of ills, save death alone!
The worst of human miseries is my own!
— Those friends of mine have cast me off—and I
Must seek perforce, a last resource, to try
To treat and tamper with the enemy.

The english reader is desired to interpret the words "cast me off" as an expression, indirectly implying a refusal of pecuniary assistance—the word in the original (προυδώκαν) is used in this sense in another passage of the poet (not here translated) in which, a poor courtezan is describing her own condition *v.* 841.

The same tone of complete despondency, the same complaint of abandonment on the part of his friends, and the consequent necessity of endeavouring to conciliate his enemies, are apparent in the following fragment.

LXXXIII.

Happy the man, with wordly wealth and ease,
Who dying in good time, departs in peace.

Not yet reduc'd to wander as a stranger,
In exile and distress, and daily danger;
To fawn upon his foes, to risk the trial
Of a friend's faith, and suffer a denial!

A short fragment is to be found, of little merit in itself; but which (as it evidently marks a particular turn in the views and feelings of the poet) can not according to the strict rules of criticism, be overlooked, in any attempt to ascertain and arrange the incidents of his life. The original of this singular and perplexing passage, if expanded into the dimension which is necessary to render its intention and meaning discernible to an english reader, might stand thus.

LXXXIV.

No mean or coward heart, will I commend,
In an old comrade or a party friend:
Nor with ungenerous hasty zeal decry
A noble minded gallant enemy.

The original couplet (for it is a couplet in the original) appears like others of the detached couplets, which are found in our present copies, to have been the exordium of a separate poem; a poem of which, as of many others, only the initial lines have been preserved. In this poem then, (as is apparent from the supposed introductory lines) the poet's intention must have been to pass in review, the characters of his own partizans, and also those of his adversaries, with professed impartiality; but with a *candid* bias in favor of his opponents.

With respect then to a poem of this description, or to any other poem, of which the lines in question could consistently have formed a part; a difficulty would arise, as to the period of the poet's life (if such a period could be found) to which it might with any probability be assigned. We have already seen, that his fear and hatred of the opposite party, had been progressively becoming more and more intense, up to the very moment of his expatriation;

it is impossible therefore, to assign this fragment (or any poem to which it could have belonged) to the period preceding that event. Again, the tone of it, from which it is evident that the poet still considered himself as a personage whose estimate of individuals might be deemed a matter of importance, is totally at variance with the character, which many years after, when he succeeded in obtaining permission to return to Megara, he found himself obliged to assume. An utter and entire adjuration of all party feelings and reminiscences seems to have been the implied condition of his recal, a condition to which he adhered with an excess of caution.

The reader, if he arrives in safety to the concluding pages of this essay will see, that the tone of this fragment, implying a critical estimate of the characters of the Poet's friends and opponents, would have been wholly unsuited to the situation in which he was placed at this latter period.

The length of this discussion may seem perhaps disproportionate to the very moderate merit of the passage to which it relates.—If it had been the intention of the writer, to compose a mere romance, illustrative of early Grecian manners, and diversified with occasional scraps of something in the shape of poetry; making use of the text of the author, merely as a canvas, for the exercise of invention: In such a case undoubtedly, it might have been advisable to have avoided all notice of any passage, apparently inconsistent with the assumed narrative; but of which the incongruity would not be manifest, except to the accurate and diligent enquirer; Who noticing the passage in the first instance, might follow it out, into the primary inferences, which it legitimately suggests; and in so doing might be conducted to a conclusion, irreconcileable with the series of deductions founded upon the coherent and concurrent testimony of other fragments.—But, it has been the wish and endeavour of the writer, to trace a series of real events, more rationally interesting, in his judgement, than any work of fiction which he could have ventured to attempt. He is therefore anxious to remove those impediments which had obstructed his own investigation; and which might equally impede the researches of any other person whose attention might happen to be directed to the same author. This passage had long appeared a decided stumbling block; and it is some satisfaction to have been able to convert it into a stepping stone. It had in fact been taken for granted, naturally enough, that the poem to which this

passage belonged, must have been composed at Megara. Upon this supposition, it had appeared utterly unaccountable, and wholly at variance with the inferences deducible from other fragments: But it sometimes happens, that a very simple reflection may serve for the solution of what had been long considered as a serious difficulty. It is clear from Frs. LXXXIII and LXXXIV that Theognis must have been in negotiation, or at least attempting to negotiate with the party in possession of the City; the party by whom he had been expelled. With a view then to conciliate his adversaries, and to prepare the way for his own recal, what method would be most likely to be employed, by a man who was in the habit of employing poetry upon all occasions; who replies in verse, to the impertinence of a female slave; and whom we have seen composing in metre, the speech which he delivered at a party meeting, assembled at a critical time, and deliberating upon the adoption of the most dangerous measures? There should seem to be little difficulty in supposing that the habitual and natural language of the poet, must have been employed upon this occasion; that Verse would have been the vehicle of his first overtures; and that a poem of affected candour, in which, as he says himself, his friends (the bad ones at least) were not to be praised; and his enemies (the good ones at least) were not to be blamed, must have been the first overture to the treaty which he was endeavouring to open with the victorious party.

The failure of this negotiation will in the meanwhile serve to account for the tone of utter dejection and despondency which is marked in the next fragment.

LXXXV.

Not to be born — never to see the sun!
No wordly blessing is a greater one!
And the next best, is speedily to die;
And lapt beneath a load of earth to lie!

We are now approaching to a very different period of the poet's existence; his long residence in Sicily. That Island and the country of Magna Græcia, as it was called (the maritime portion of the continental territory of Naples) stood at that time in the same relation to the older states of Greece, as the coasts of Asia-Minor had done at an early period: nearly the same as that of the States of America with respect to the present European world. The western colonies of the little world of Greece, were the common refuge of unemployed talent. Abounding in wealth, to a degree that was become proverbial; and profuse in their encouragement of all the arts by which their customary forms of life could be polished or adorned; they afforded an asylum and the means of employment and maintenance to talents and ingenuity of every kind.

Among the many persons who sought refuge in this new world, there could have been hardly any one who was determined to such a measure, by circumstances of more complete destitution than those in which Theognis must have found himself. Forced into exile, as he described himself "Stript of every thing" disappointed in his hopes of a victorious return and triumphant retaliation upon his enemies; disgusted with his associates, and neglected by them, and failing of success in the conciliatory overture from which he had hoped to obtain a remission of his exile, his situation was one, which, if it did not terminate in irretrievable despair, must have suggested some decided and extraordinary resolution. This resolution is announced in the following lines; the last, as it should seem, in which the name of Kurnus occurs. In the original, there is a point of character and feeling, which is imperfectly represented in the translation.—In taking leave of his friend, he repeats his name several times.

LXXXVI.

For noble minds, the worst of miseries,
Worse than old age or wearisome disease
Is Poverty — from Poverty to flee;
From some tall Precipice prone to the Sea,

It were a fair escape to leap below!
In Poverty, dear Kurnus! we forego
Freedom in word and deed — body and mind,
Action and thought, are fetter'd and confin'd.
Let me then fly — dear Kurnus, once again!
Wide as the limits of the land and main,
From these entanglements; with these in view,
Death is the lighter evil of the two.

We now come to the period of his long residence in Sicily, where the following lines were composed, under the pressure of distress and difficulty; probably soon after his arrival, and while the impressions of a sea voyage were uppermost in his mind.

LXXXVII.

Wearied and sick at heart, in seas of trouble,
I work against the wind, and strive to double
The dark disastrous Cape of poverty.

The following lines seem to have been composed about the same time, and under the same circumstances; it is curious, that the habit of generalization should follow him, even when reflecting upon his own situation; His mind expands itself naturally into a comprehensive observation.

LXXXVIII.

All kinds of shabby shifts are understood,
All kinds of arts are practis'd, bad and good:
All kinds of ways to gain a livelihood.

His personal talents and acquirements seem at this time to have been his sole resource; and amongst them, the most obvious, and the most marketable was the proficiency which he had attained to, as a vocal performer, accompanying the music of the pipe.

In this character, we find him assisting at a musical festival, and apologizing for his voice, which is likely, he says, to be affected by "having accompanied a party of revellers and serenaders, the night before; moreover the other performer, who ought to have borne a part with him, has failed in his engagement. But he has no objection to the piper whom they have provided and will proceed with his engagement." *

* sic in orig.

LXXXIX.

I can not warble like a nightingale †
This voice of mine, I fear, is like to fail,
With rambling on a revel late at night. ‡
I shall not make a poor excuse, to slight
Your Piper's art and practice; but the friend
That ought to bear his part here, and attend,
In fact is absent — I must do my best;
And put my talent fairly to the test.
So — praying to the Gods, for help and grace,
Close to the piper's side, I take my place.

† ὥσπερ ἀηδών

‡ where he had been hired to attend.

In the original, there is an ambiguity which could not be represented in english (δεξιὸς) in one sense implies his skill as a musician; in the other, it describes his position at the side of the piper.

Exhibition such as this, must have been felt as mortifying, by a man of birth, and who had been originally a person of rank and consequence in his native city; accordingly, we find feelings such as might be expected from him, expressed in the following fragment, written probably about the same time.

XC.

O Poverty! how sorely do you press,
Debasing soul and body with distress:
To such degrading offices you bind
A manly form, an elevated mind,
Once elegantly fashion'd and refin'd.

It is but too natural to suppose, that the attempts of a poor gentleman, to obtain a living by the exercise of talents, which had formerly served for his amusement, would be exposed to the censure of professional performers; one of them, it should seem, (Academus by name) had spoken of him as not being a *thorough bred* musician, but a kind of *mule* between an artist and amateur. To this taunt, he replies in the first of the two following fragments: the second, though separated in the present text, seems to belong to it, as an easy conciliatory conclusion to the previous reprimand.

XCI.

I wish that a fair trial were prepar'd,
Friend Academus! with the prize declar'd,
A comely slave, the conqueror's reward.
For a full proof, betwixt myself and you,
Which is the better Minstrel of the two.
Then would I shew, you, that a *Mule* surpasses
In his performance, all the breed of *Asses*.

* * * * * *

Enough of such discourse; Now let us try
To join our best endeavours, you and I,
With voice and music; since the Muse has bless'd
Us both with her endowments; and possess'd
With the fair science of harmonious sound
The neighbouring people, and the Cities round.

The last lines mark his position as a foreign artist, he is complimenting the natives.

We now find, that he was beginning to get together a little money; and the next fragment will shew, that he was become very careful of it.

XCII.

You boast of wealth, and scornfully deplore
My poverty — something I have in store;
And with God's blessing, I shall make it more.

Being now under the necessity of vindicating himself from a charge of meanness and parsimony; his defence is made, in the same spirit of generalization, which has been already noticed as a peculiar feature of his mind.

XCIII.

Though gifted with a shrewd and subtle ken,
Timagoras! — the secret hearts of men,
(You' ll find it) are a point hard to be guess'd;
For poor and shabby souls in riches dress'd;
Make a fair show; — while indigence and care
Give to the noble mind, a meaner air.

Theognis might have been enabled to maintain himself at first, and possibly to make a little money, in the way above described; and perhaps by teaching music and poetry; but his most important occupation (like that of his instructor Simonides) and that from which the chief source of his gains would have arisen, was the direction of the Choral entertainments, which were exhibited in competition by the different tribes, at the expence of the wealthiest citizens of each. The person charged with this burdensome office was called the Choregus; a word signifying properly, the *Leader of the Chorus*; though afterwards, owing to this circumstance, it was employed, to signify

the person, who was chargeable with the expenses of any undertaking, or who voluntarily engaged to defray them. The Choregus then, not being, it may be supposed, usually capable of directing an entertainment consisting of music, poetry and dancing, was under the necessity of employing another person, under the designation of Chorodidascalus, or *teacher of the chorus;* a professed artist, a poet, musician and ballet-master; characters, which were anciently united in the same person. The Chorodidascalus, charged to prepare and direct the details of the entertainment, did not lead an easy life; he had to compose the poetry and the music; to discipline and superintend the evolutions of the Chorus of dancers; It was necessary that he should be perfect in the system of choral tactics, capable of inventing new manœuvres, and of directing their execution; he had moreover to manage the vocal and instrumental performers, and to negotiate with the Machinist and the makers of dresses, masks &c. but a most mortifying circumstance would arise, when the Choregus, from the mere paltry consideration of additional expense, had the bad taste to refuse his consent to some manifest improvement in the exhibition. Theognis, on one occasion, seems to have met with a Choregus, who was insensible to the advantages of some proposed improvement; and he is led to the conclusion expressed in the following verses; that the rarity of the union of wealth and good taste in the same individual, is highly unfavorable to the progress of the fine arts! !

XCIV.

Dunces are often rich, while indigence
Thwarts the designs of elegance and sense.
Nor wealth alone, nor judgement can avail;
In either case, art and improvement fail.

Finding himself become an active person, the reflection seems to have occurred to him; that he had formerly been equally active in pursuits of a very different kind. This reflection, according to his usual habit, is generalized in the following lines.

XCV.

The Passions and the Wants of nature breed
Winged Desires, that with an airy speed
Hurry abroad, for Pleasure or for Need;
On various errands, various as their hue,
A fluttering, eager, ever busy crew.

As his circumstances improved, his spirits seem to have risen, and he rejoices in the success of his exertions, though conscious of their derogatory character.

XCVI.

Plutus, of all the Gods, the first and best!
My wrongs with your assistance are redrest;
Now, reinstated in respectability,
In spite of my baseness and humility.

Though now relieved from poverty, he was unable, or did not deem it advisable, to indulge his Wishes and Fancies, as he had been in the habit of doing formerly. This change seemed to require an apology, which he addressed to them, as follows.

XCVII.

My old companions, Fancy and Desire!
To treat you both, as each of you require,
My means are insufficient — never mind!
Ours is the common case of human kind.

At length he finds himself in a situation in which he is led to consider the question of greater indulgence, and a larger expenditure. This question, after viewing it on both sides, he seems disposed to determine in favor of continued economy.

The perplexity of which Theognis complains, is one which in our times would be easily solved by sinking a portion of capital or the whole of it, in a life-annuity: but he was fearful of infringing upon his capital, apprehending that (as is said to have been the case with Mr. Pope's father) he might live, more than long enough, to consume the whole.

XCVIII.

Current expenditure — to bring it all
Within the compass of our capital,
Is a wise Plan, but difficult withal.
Could we beforehand ascertain the date
Of our existence, we might fix a rate
For our expense, and make it more or less;
But, as it is, we must proceed by guess.
The road divides! which path am I to choose?
Perplex'd with opposite diverging views.
Say, shall I struggle on, to save and spare,
Or lead an easy life, and banish care?
Some have I seen; with competence of wealth,
Indifferent to friendship, pleasure, health,
Struggling and saving; till the final call,
Death sends his summons, and confiscates all!
Allotting, to the thankless heedless heir,
The produce of his economic care!
Yet others have I seen; reckless of pelf;
«I take my pastime, and I please myself»
Such was the jolly phrase — the same Gallant
Have I beheld, an utter mendicant;

In sad dependence, at his latter end,
Watching and importuning every friend.
Our wiser course then, Damocles! I deem,
Is that, which steers aloof from each extreme:
Not to consume my life, with care and pain,
Economizing for another's gain;
And least of all, to risk the future fears
Of indigence, in my declining years.
With this reflection, therefore, I incline
To lean a little to the saving line:
For something should be left when life is fled,
To purchase decent duty to the dead;
Those easy tears, the customary debt
Of kindly recollection and regret.
Besides, the saving of superfluous cost
Is a sure profit, never wholly lost;
Not altogether lost, though left behind,
Bequeath'd in kindness to a friendly mind.
And for the present, can a lot be found
Fairer and happier than a name renown'd,
And easy competence, with honor crown'd;
The just approval of the good and wise,
Public applauses, friendly courtesies;
Where all combine, a single name to grace
With Honor and pre-eminence of place,
Coevals, Elders, and the rising race!

This last passage is separated from the preceding, in Brunk's edition. It is possible, that some intermediate lines may have been lost; but the train of thought seems to be continuous: he feels, that the estimation which he has acquired in society, is such as to supersede any temptation to increase it, by living at an increased expense.

It is difficult to assign a place to the following fragment; that it was written in exile is evident.

Whether this picture has a reference to the battle of Elorus, or to some petty unrecorded hostilities which might have taken place while he was resident in Thebes, it is not easy to determine. The address to companions, who like himself had no interest in the cause, seems to indicate a time when he had not separated himself from his fellow Emigrants; and the passage altogether, has more of a tone of freedom and alacrity than would seem to belong to the later period of his residence in Syracuse. It is therefore placed here, rather for the sake of marking the time of the battle of Elorus, than in any confidence that it actually related to it.—The tone of carelessness and indifference in which he speaks of going to battle, as upon a mere point of honor, forbids us to assign this fragment to the time of the action between the Calchideans and Athenians; in which he must have felt a strong interest.

XCIX.

Peace is my wish, may peace and plenty crown
This happy land, the people and the town!
May peace remain! and may we never miss
Good cheer and merry meetings such as this!
Whether at home or here, all wars I hate,
All battle I detest and execrate.
Then never hurry forward! for we fight
Not for ourselves nor for our Country's right.
But with the bawling herald, loud and clear,
Shouting a noisy summons in my ear,
And with my own good horse, for very shame,
We must engage and join the bloody game.

The battle of Elorus, in which the Syracusans were totally defeated, was followed by the siege of Syracuse; which appears to have been long protracted; since it afforded time for a singular combination; that of the Corinthians and Corcyreans, habitually enemies, but each of them interested in behalf

of the Syracusans as a kindred Race. The joint assistance and interposition of these two states effected the deliverance of the Syracusans, under a compromise, by which they surrendered to Gelo the sovereignty of Camarina. Suidas says, that during the siege, Theognis wrote a poem to "those who had escaped," meaning probably, those who having escaped from the battle, were afterwards the defenders of the besieged town. Of this poem, a small fragment may be traced in the confused medley which at present exists. It seems to reflect on the unwarlike character of the exiled nobility; a defect which notoriously belonged to them. The poem itself would have been interesting and curious; but the remaining lines are of little value.

C.

The Gods have granted mighty stores of pelf
To many a sluggard, useless to himself
And his own partizans: but high renown
Awaits the warrior who defends the town.

The events above mentioned, seem to have led to Theognis' return from his long exile. The state of Corinth was at that time strongly influenced by democratic policy. The Corinthians had promoted the revolution at Megara and favored that of Athens; they were "the Cypselizing Race" whom Theognis had execrated as the Authors of his misfortunes and disappointments. The Corinthian deputies and commanders however, on their arrival at Syracuse, must have found their old Aristocratic victim transformed by circumstances, into a very passable democrat, engaged in the defence of the City, against a besieging force, commanded by the patron of the exiled Aristocracy. Theognis having no doubt introduced himself to the acquaintance of the Corinthian commander (an influential person in a state which possessed a great ascendancy over Megara) conscious moreover of a literary reputation which would do honor to his Country, and sufficiently provided with certificates of civism, seems to have thought, that nothing more was wanting, to procure his erasure from the "List of Emigrants:" his Corinthian friend however, whose political sagacity seems to have suggested the story of Sisyphus and

Proserpine, was unable to extricate him from the "Hell of Banishment" upon the simple consideration of his late political conduct. An amnesty for his old political offences on the part of the government, accompanied on his side, by a practical renunciation of his former principles and attachments, seems to have been the basis of the treaty; but there was also another indispensable article, the consideration of which, brings us back to the extracts immediately preceding the last; which refer to the private finances of the poet. Drachmas, it should seem, he had accumulated; and a certain sacrifice of Drachmas was necessary to the success of the negotiation. Under these circumstances, the following characteristic lines were produced; they express the poet's satisfaction at the acquisition and possession of wealth, mixed with a strong feeling of mortification, at being obliged to purchase as a favor, what he might have expected to have received honorably and gratuitously, as a tribute to his reputation and talents. The long history of Sisyphus and Proserpine is an Allegory. Proserpine is the power, whose connivance or indulgence can enable him to return from the infernal regions of exile: not as he had expected to return before, after a visit to the same dismal abodes; like Ulysses, with a bloody vengeance on his enemies Frag. LXXVI. but upon condition of a mutual oblivion of the past; which he describes as "a grant of "oblivion accompanied by a sacrifice of his judgment and understanding;" the precise condition of the emigrant who obtains his return from the indulgence of a hostile party; and who binds himself at the same time, to an inoffensive behaviour in word and deed: on these conditions, he enjoys the benefit of *oblivion* on the one hand; while on the other, his judgment of men and things is suppressed and practically annihilated.

The story of Sisyphus and Proserpine appears at first sight, not only foreign to the main subject and purpose (an expression of devout gratitude to the God of wealth) but is moreover unaccountably tedious; this very tediousness however, is an artifice of the poet, by which he directs the attention of the reader to a meaning, which he could not venture more distinctly to express. We are at first offended, and exclaim,—"*What can be the meaning of all this stuff?*" till after a little reflection, the meaning presents itself.

Though much mortified, it should seem, at the pecuniary sacrifice required of him, Theognis does not suffer his indignation to get the better of his modesty and self respect; he disdains to state his own case; but exemplifies it

by a similar one. "If a man (says he) possessed the speed of the Harpies or "the sons of Boreas (that is to say, if he could obtain the greatest honor, for "so it was considered, for himself and his native city, by gaining a victory at "the Olympic Games) it would be of no avail to him; he would still have to "learn, that the only effectual influence is that of gold." We here again trace the association of ideas before noticed, between successful poetry and success at the Olympic Games. In the present case, what is affirmed of the one, is implied of the other—both would be useless.

CI.

O Plutus; justly to your gifts and you,
Mankind attribute praise and honor due.
With your assistance, we securely face
Defeat and disappointment and disgrace.
Thus to reward the virtuous, and to slight
Wicked and dirty knaves, is surely right!
For with the world at large, no merit tells,
But Plutus and his bounty, — nothing else!
No! not the sense of Rhadamanthus old,
Nor all the shrewd devices manifold,
Which Sisyphus, the keen Corinthian knew;
That wily chief, that, if old tales are true,
Made a most strange escape, so poets tell,
By dint of rhetoric, he return'd from Hell!
For she (that kind oblivion can dispense;
But takes away the judgment and the sense)
The Goddess Proserpine, by strong persuasion,
Consented to connive at his evasion:
A thing unheard of, and unknown before;
That, having pass'd the dark infernal door,
And visited those dreary realms below
From that disastrous prison-house of woe,

A man by policy should work his way;
Emerging into light and upper day!
Sisyphus gain'd a point which none beside,
(Of all that ever liv'd or ever died)
Could have atchiev'd — Yet Sisyphus would fail;
Nor would Ulysses with his arts prevail;
Nor aged Nestor with his eloquence —
No merit would avail you; no pretence;
Though you possess'd the vigour and the speed
Of the swift Harpies, or the winged breed
Of Boreas, in the proud Olympic game
A conqueror! your native place and name
Recorded and announc'd with loud acclaim;
Still, would you find the common saying hold,
«Fame is a jest; favor is bought and sold;
«No power on earth is like the power of gold.»

Whether the preceding lines were composed at Syracuse, or afterwards, in Greece (Lacedæmon) where it should seem, he waited the result of his negotiation, cannot be determined.—They are placed here, as forming a natural sequel to the fragments referable to Syracuse, and as an introduction to those which from their internal marks must be assigned to Lacedæmon. The first of these bear a strong indication of having been composed at the time when the poet had passed the meridian of life. The "black fear of death which saddens all" is strongly marked in the first lines. He endeavours to escape from the ghastly images which it presents to him, by running into a long digression about Theotimus, and the history of his vineyard; and finally attempts to give a fillip to his spirits by a forced joke on the double sense of the word θωρηχθείς. The same word is punned upon elsewhere—all this seems characteristic of a mature age; while the mention of persons and things, indicates reminiscences, which imply, that he must have already visited the same country at an earlier period of his life.

CII.

Enjoy your time, my Soul! another race
Will shortly fill the World, and take your place;
With their own hopes and fears, sorrow and mirth:
I shall be dust the while, and crumbled earth.
But think not of it! Drink the racy wine
Of rich Taygetus, press'd from the vine
Which Theotimus, in the sunny glen,
(Old Theotimus, lov'd by Gods and men)
Planted, and water'd from a plenteous source,
Teaching the wayward stream a better course:
Drink it, and cheer your heart, and banish care;
A *load* of wine will *lighten* our despair.

I should be inclined to think that Theognis must have been connected by the ties of hospitality with some Spartan or Laconian families; that of Theotimus, for instance here mentioned, or that Clearistus (before mentioned, as so connected with him) may have been a Laconian.

The following lines appear also to have been written in Lacedæmon, and evidently relate to some matter of important trust; probably to the friendly and confidential agency through which he was enabled to purchase a remission of his exile.

CIII.

Ye twins of Jove! an undivided twain,
That on Eurotas' shore and happy plain,
In endless harmony preside and reign!
Punish our guilt! If ever by design,
I wrong my friend; let all the loss be mine,
But, if the fault is his! Double the fine!

The next lines, though referable to Lacedæmon, may have been composed there at an earlier period of the poet's life. Though in both instances the conclusion points to hand drinking, they seem much too juvenile for the Author of Frag. CII. The four concluding verses have been subjoined as a natural sequel. In the original, they are separated; and stand as a distinct fragment in Brunck's edition.

CIV.

Now that in mid career, checking his course,
The bright Sun pauses in his pride and force;
Let us prepare to dine; and eat and drink
The best of every thing that heart can think;
And let the shapely Spartan damsel fair
Bring, with a rounded arm and graceful air,
Water to wash, and garlands for our hair:
In spite of all the systems and the rules
Invented and observ'd by sickly fools;
Let us be brave, and resolutely drink;
Not minding if the Dog-star rise or sink.

The two first lines of the original are hardly intelligible. It seems probable, that two lines may have been lost between the first and the second.

The next fragments bring us back to Megara, and represent Theognis, as a returned Emigrant, studiously and anxiously patriotic and popular; ready to sympathize equally with the grave apprehensions, or the mirthful entertainments which occupied the attention of his fellow citizens; and giving an indirect pledge in the first fragment, and a more decided one in the second, of his resolution to abstain from party politics; and to confine himself to the cultivation of poetry and of the sister arts, with which it was immediately connected; Music and the management of the Chorus.

The last lines of the first fragment serve to confirm Mr. Clinton's suggestion, that he was born in the 59th. Olympiad; in which, according to some

accounts, he is said to have flourished—but, as He justly observes, these computations would suppose Theognis to have been near eighty in 490—the time of the battle of Marathon. The concluding lines certainly give a decided negative to such a supposition. The characters of mature age (as has been already observed) is marked in a preceding fragment (the last but two). The same association of ideas is also observable in this, which must have been written a very short time after: in both of them, the pleasures of conviviality are connected with the fear of death (the evil with its remedy); but in extreme age, such remedies are not resorted to; moreover, old age itself is here spoken of as a distant evil.

CV.

May Jove, the Almighty, with his own right hand
Guard and uphold this happy town and land!
With all the glorious blessed Gods above!
And may the bright Apollo guide and move
My voice and fancy, cunningly to carp
In songs accordant to the pipe and harp!
When, after solemn rites of sacrifice,
At feasts and banquets, freely we devise
Of mirth and pastime; banishing afar
All fears of Persia and her threaten'd war;
With joyous airy songs of merry verse,
Quaffing and chanting «May we ne'er be worse»
But better; if a better thing can be,
Than thus to live at ease, cheerful and free;
While far remote, no fears our thoughts engage,
Of death approaching, or disastrous age.

The phrase ὧδ' εἶναι καὶ ἄμεινον is evidently what we should call a toast or sentiment, equivalent to the Scotch "May there ne'er be worse among us!" or the Sailors "Here's better luck still!"

The next fragment is of the same time, as appears not only from the tone and character, but from the same mention of an apprehended invasion from Persia.—It may be considered as a kind of sequel to the preceding; the invocation to the inferior protecting Deity of the town, naturally following the preceding address to the supreme ruler of the World. This fragment is of considerable importance, as Mr. Brunck, by comparing the lines in which Alcathous is mentioned, with an inscription discovered at Megara, has shewn, that Theognis must have been a native of Megara in Greece, and not as Plato (undoubtedly from a mere supercilious affectation of ignorance) had asserted, a Sicilian. Moreover, it appears, that Sicily is mentioned as one of the foreign countries visited by him, during his long absence from his native land.

The line in which Sicily is mentioned, has not been characteristically translated; in the original, there is a tone of hesitation and sneaking, as if he had said in English "And truly indeed! at one time, I went to Sicily;" this, the translator was quite unable to account for; and was inclined to imagine, that it might be an unfounded fancy of his own, not having at the time any suspicion, that the poet's departure for Sicily had been immediately preceded by an unsuccessful address to the adverse party. As it is however pretty clear, that this must have been the case; the poverty and meanness of such a style would be easily accounted for, as not unsuited to the subject, recalling as it must have done, to his own mind, and that of others, the recollection of an act of humiliation, gratuitous in its commencement, and unprofitable in its result. His voyage to Sicily (as has been seen already) having been determined upon in consequence of the rejection of the submissive overtures indicated in Frs. LXXXII-LXXXIII and LXXXIV.

It has been already remarked, that the Poet avoids all mention of Thebes, the Coblentz of the emigrant party, the head quarters of their meditated hostilities.

CVI.

You, great Apollo, with its walls and towers,
Fenc'd and adorn'd of old, this, town of ours!

Such favor in thy sight, Alcathous won,
Of Pelops old the fair and manly son.
Now therefore, in thy clemency divine,
Protect these very walls, our own and thine!
Guide and assist us, turn aside the boast
Of the destroying, haughty Persian host!
So shall thy people each returning spring,
Slay fatted hecatombs; and gladly bring
Fair gifts, with chaunted hymns, and lively song,
Dances and feasts, and happy shouts among,
Before thy altar, glorifying Thee,
In peace and health and wealth, cheerful and free.
Yet much I fear the faction and the strife,
Throughout our Grecian cities, raging rife;
And their wild councils. But, do thou defend
This town of ours, our founder and our friend!
Wide have I wander'd, far beyond the sea,
Even to the distant shores of Sicily,
To broad Eubæa's plentiful domain,
With the rich vineyards, in its planted plain;
And to the sunny wave and winding edge
Of fair Eurotas, with its reedy sedge;
Where Sparta stands in simple majesty,
Among her manly rulers, there was I!
Greeted and welcom'd (there and every where)
With courteous entertainment, kind and fair;
Yet still my weary spirit would repine,
Longing again to view this land of mine.
Henceforward, no design nor interest
Shall ever move me, but the first and best,
With learning's happy gift to celebrate,
To adorn and dignify my native State.

The Song, the Dance, music and verse agreeing,
Will occupy my life, and fill my being:
Pursuits of elegance and learned skill,
(With good repute and kindness and good will,
Among the wiser sort) will pass my time
Without an enemy, without a crime;
Harmless and just with every rank of men
Both the free native and the denizen.

The lines "Henceforward no design nor interest" are intended to mark a point of character, not immediately obvious in the original; νεώτερον πρᾶγμα was an habitual phrase for an attempt to change the government. Theognis, meaning to imply, that he is resolved to abstain from all factious schemes, varies the established phrase, and substitutes μελέδημα νεώτερον; *Thought* for *Action*: as a more modest form of expressing the same assurance.

It may be observed, that νέον would be a much better supplement than κακον for the verse of *Tyrtæus** in which he is describing the duties and obligations of the Spartan Commonalty.

* See note (*r*) Mullers Dorians vol. II. p. 15. (Turpell and Lewis translation.)

We cannot imagine that the Oracle, or the Poet, in the name of the Oracle, could have cautioned the Spartans against betraying their country: a warning against innovation might be proper enough.

The reader, if this note has led him to consult the original, will see that the next couplet is an amplification not to be found in this fragment; but if he will again refer to line 925. he will find the authority for it. It is true, that these lines 923 to 926 appear to have been written before his exile; but in his character of a poet at least, there was no occasion why Theognis should speak of himself less confidently than before.

The following lines shew, that his return was embittered by the undutiful behaviour of his family, who had grown up in his absence.

CVII.

The Gods, in just allotment have assign'd
Youth and old age, the portion of mankind,
Alike for all; impartially we share
Youth's early pleasures; equally we bear
The latter ills of life, sickness and care.
One single evil, more severe and rude
Than age or sickness or decrepitude,
Is dealt unequally; for him that rears
A thankless Offspring; in his latter years,
Ungratefully requited for his pains,
A parsimonious life and thrifty gains,
With toil and care acquir'd for their behoof:
And no return! but insolent reproof;
Such as might scare a Beggar from the Gate,
A wretch unknown, poor and importunate!
— To be revil'd, avoided, hated, curst;
This is the last of evils, and the worst!

Theognis had left his wife, and at least one son behind him, when he quitted Megara — some verses written in the early part of his banishment, serve to shew, that she was behaving well in his absence. There are no further notices to be found respecting her — but, a family of children growing up under the tuition and protection of the ruling party, would probably become connected with them; and would be liable to be extremely disgusted and annoyed at the return of so near a connection, who abjuring rank and pretensions of every kind, had subsisted for many years as a mere artist, and who now reappeared with a fixed determination to confine himself scrupulously to those pursuits by which he had before obtained a livelihood — all the money which he had made in Sicily, would not compensate for such a mortification.

The following lines appear evidently to belong to the period subsequent to his return from exile; they are perfectly in harmony with the unobnoxious line of conduct, which he had chalked out to himself; they represent him as communicating his acquirements from a natural feeling of public duty and public spirit; obviously to the exclusion of any mercenary inducement; they cannot therefore be assigned to the period of his lucrative professional practice in Sicily—again, they would be wholly out of place in the earlier years of his exile (at Thebes or Eubæa) or in the tumultuous times which immediately preceded, and if we go back to a still earlier period, we find that the system of secrecy and reserve which he then practised (see Frag. IX.) is that which (in allusion perhaps to his former habit) he now condemns.

CVIII.

The servant of the Muse, gifted and grac'd
With high preeminence of art and taste,
Has an allotted duty to fulfill;
Bound to dispense the treasure of his skill;
Without a selfish or invidious view;
Bound to recite, and to compose anew.
Not to reserve his talent for himself.
In secret, like a Miser with his pelf.

Postscript.

The modern reader to whom the original is inaccessible, will probably close this volume with a feeling of suspense, and a doubt in his own mind—"Whether these things are so?" Whether the picture which has been presented to him is a correct one, exhibiting the true representation of a human mind at a period so remote, and formed under circumstances so different from those of modern times; or whether the original has served merely as a canvas upon which the translator has been endeavouring to trace a fanciful picture for his own amusement and that of his readers? To this question a satisfactory answer can be given, at least as far as regards the design of the work, and the degree of attention which has been bestowed upon it. Its merit, if it has any, consists in a constant endeavour to convey to the English Reader an exact and complete notion of the intention of the original, and a clear impression of the temper, character, and style which it exhibits: but it is safer to speak of negative than of positive merits. The Writer then ventures to say that nothing has been hightened by embellishment, nor modified in conformity to modern ideas or modern taste, nor aggravated on the other hand in order to produce an effect in those passages which exhibited the strongest contrast with the feelings and opinions of the present time.—Those for example in which the Poet discusses the subject of the order of Providence in an address to Jupiter, stating his objections, and debating the question in a tone of respectful familiarity! or in which he expresses a wish "to drink the blood of his enemies," accompanied by the hope that some benignant deity will assist him in the accomplishment of that desirable purpose; in these and similar passages the English Reader may be assured that it has been the endeavour of the translator to express to the best of his ability the true *phraseognomy* of the original without in any degree heightening it; though for the sake of making it

more palpable, it may in some instances have been expanded, and exhibited more at length. This defect of expansion is in fact unavoidable, or avoidable only by sacrificing the very object which, to an intelligent modern reader, is the only one which makes the translation of an ancient Author (such as Theognis) in any degree interesting. It might not be difficult to crowd into a given number of lines or words an exact verbal interpretation, but this verbal interpretation would convey almost in every instance either an imperfect meaning or a false character, the relative and collateral ideas, and the associations which served as stepping-stones to transitions apparently incongruous and abrupt, would still be wanting, and the Author, whose elliptical familiar phraseology was a mere transcript of the language of daily life, would have the appearance of a pedantic composer studiously obscure and enigmatic.

With respect to the smaller fragments something must be assumed upon probability or taken upon trust; much time and attention have been bestowed in assigning to them the order in which they are here placed, and in conjectures as to the circumstances which gave rise to them (or to the Poems of which they formed a part) as well as to their real meaning and intention. To justify those inferences in every instance, would have required a separate dissertation for each fragment—but of writing dissertations there is no end—nor is there any task more difficult, or in its results more unsatisfactory, than that of attempting to accommodate a demonstration to the various apprehensions of different Readers. With the generality of Readers he is apprehensive that he may appear to have erred in the prolixity of his commentary, encumbering and retarding the progress of a narrative otherwise interesting and amusing.

To the learned who may be disposed to follow the same train of investigation, the consideration of an analogous case is respectfully submitted.

It is recorded of persons, who have been long confined in situations of apparently total darkness, that they have by degrees acquired the power of distinguishing objects; and that ultimately time and habit have anabled them to enjoy the faculty of vision, in a medium, so obscure as to present no distinguishable object, to a stranger newly introduced into the same abode. The Author of this Essay has subjected himself to voluntary confinement in one of the darkest cells in the whole dungeon of literature; being persuaded that by time and patience he might adap this vision to the obscurity in which he was

placed, and that some object of interest and curiosity would be finally discoverable. At his first entrance every thing was obscure, by degrees however many points became dimly discernable, and finally distinctly manifest; but he cannot expect that the same objects, even when they are pointed out and described, should be at once recognized by a stranger, however acute his natural power of vision may be, who passes at once from the broad glare of day light, and transfers himself suddenly into the situation in which the Writer has been so long secluded.

To the consideration therefore of such persons (much his superiors, for the most part, in learning and critical knowledge) he would wish to suggest in the first place, the apparent truth and probability of the whole narrative; coupled with the fact, that of the remaining fragments of the Poet there is not one to which a place may not be assigned, in one or other of the periods into which his life is divided.—Where the flowing line of a probable and easy narrative passes like a Catenary curve through a long series of incidents and allusions without deviation or interruption, we are led to an inference like that of the Mathematical Axiom. *Ut pendet continuum flexile ita stabit continuum rectum*—we conclude that the narrative which complies with these conditions must be the true one; and that it may be admitted to stand as an independent construction, without the aid of external props, supporting itself by the mutual bearing and pressure of the parts. The only external props in the present instance consist of the few historical data, which may be considered as the piers and abutments, upon which the separate arches of conjecture have been constructed.—But phrases of this magnitude applied to so minute a subject, serve to remind the Writer who has made use of them, that he is in danger of falling into the common error of estimating any trifling advance in knowledge, not according to its real value, but in proportion to the time and labour which have been bestowed upon it.

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